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ECONOMIC TENDENCIES IN INDIA[1]

Probably the one statement likely to command general agreement is that economic conditions in India are unsatisfactory. The intellectually indolent dispose of the problem by laying the entire blame upon Government: overlooking the fact, rightly emphasised by Mr. Churchill during a recent Parliamentary debate on unemployment in Great Britain, that "the economic forces of the modern world transcend at the present time the power of individuals and individual Governments to foresee or control." The depression is general and no country is passing through a more severe trial than Great Britain herself. That fact is of some importance to India inasmuch as Great Britain remains incomparably the largest single outlet for Indian produce, and despite higher import duties, the natural growth of Indian industries, and even political disaffection, India still remains the largest market for British goods. To no slight extent therefore the economic welfare of the two countries is interdependent. If India moves ahead, develops her resources and raises her standard of living no country will benefit more than Great Britain.

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[1] Lecture delivered at the Calcutta Rotary Club on April 22, 1930.

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Whether India's imperfect development is due, as Sir Basil Blackett recently maintained, to the persistence of medieval abstractions, or, as Indian critics assert, to modern superstitions and restrictions, fiscal, financial and political, is entirely a matter of opinion; whatever the explanation, the immediate position is undoubtedly discouraging. Probably no single factor has hit Indian producers harder than the worldwide fall in commodity prices. Indian producers, in certain instances, are also affected by the formation of vast combines to control the purchase, and to a certain extent the prices of raw materials. No important industry has escaped. Jute, which for so many years, contrived to maintain a precarious position on the uplands of prosperity, has recently, as the result of a somewhat precipitous decline, joined tea, cotton, and coal in the valley of depression. Political tranquillity has disappeared; labour is restive; capital (urgently required for India's own development) is going abroad; and, while old-established industries are either working at a loss or earning only negligible profits, no new industrial enterprises of outstanding importance are being launched. Owing to loss of confidence in gilt-edged securities, due to progressive depreciation, Government borrowing has been reduced to a nominal figure, and official outlay on capital projects has been correspondingly curtailed, thereby accentuating the industrial depression. There are no bright lights shining through the encircling gloom; the producers of raw materials and foodstuffs, the factories which produce predominantly for domestic consumption, such as the cotton mills, and those which rely almost entirely upon demand oversea, such as the jute mills, are suffering simultaneously. In one direction, there is cause for real anxiety. India has for decades been a large importer of manufactured goods, but recently she has become, in addition, a large purchaser of foodstuffs, wheat and even rice, and of raw materials, including cotton, which a more scientific system of agriculture would enable her to produce from her own soil. It is no comfort to be told that such imports are abnormal and exceptional. India's consumption of wheat and rice is apparently increasing more rapidly than her production. If India has to buy foreign foodstuffs and raw materials, her ability to purchase manufactures, Indian or imported, must be diminished correspondingly.

As the result of the Montford Reforms, sidetracking the recommendations of the Industrial Commission, including the creation of a strong Central Industries Department, the sole stimuli applied to industrial development in recent years have been protective tariffs which, while inevitable in India and perhaps to a certain extent beneficial, are a mixed blessing. Revenue considerations, as in the Budget just adopted, have raised the tariff to even higher levels than could be justified by purely economic considerations. Partly as the result of this artificial stimulus, India is undoubtedly more economically self-contained than she was a decade ago. Steel manufacture is firmly established and the opening of new steel works, capable of absorbing the pig-iron now exported, is only a matter of awaiting more favourable conditions, commercial and financial. Tinplate production is a technical although not yet a financial success. The cement industry, recently so decreased, is now increasing its facilities for production. Match factories are multiplying and match imports are approaching vanishing point. Cotton mills in Bombay, under the strain imposed by the competition of the more efficient Japanese mills, have lost a large percentage of their capital resources, but the new protective tariff has created an opportunity, which the mill-owners evidently intend to grasp, to increase their competitive power against inland as well as foreign mills by resorting to rationalisation. A survey suggests that there are very few other industries on whose behalf tariff aid could be invoked. Salt manufacture has recently engaged a good deal of attention, not only on the part of the Tariff Board. A report on the chemical industries is under official consideration. But beyond these there appear to be few outstanding industries which do not already enjoy such assistance as tariffs afford. Where then is the hiatus? For that India has reached an industrial position proportionate to her resources and opportunities few would contend. I am inclined to think that the most convincing explanation of the failure of high tariffs to yield a larger and more rapid expansion of industries in India is to be found, in many although not in all cases, in the low level, and the very slow rise, in the purchasing power of the rural population whose primitive methods of crop production, and serf-like subordination to the moneylender and the middleman, sufficiently explain their limited demand for factory products. Behind her tariff wall India enjoys free trade among a larger percentage of the world's population than is comprised in any other economic unit in the world. But while the protectionists have concentrated all their energies on increasing production, the necessity of equally strenuous efforts to increase consumption has been overlooked; nevertheless the absolute and continuous interdependence of rural and urban industries is apparent at every stage. If the cultivator, after meeting prior charges, retains only a negligible margin of income available for the purchase of factory products, industrial production will be restricted proportionately. The smaller the crop the cultivator extracts from the soil, the higher the interest he has to pay to the moneylender ; the larger the commission insisted on by the middleman, the less he has available for the purchase of manufactures. It is no use multiplying mills and factories unless there is a demand large enough to sustain them and it is in this vital respect that India at present is most heavily handicapped. The foreign manufacturer is certainly a factor in restraining the development of Indian industries, but an even more formidable enemy is the Indian moneylender, and is hardly necessary to explain why. Including Burma and the Indian States, the total agricultural indebtedness in India is probably not less than 800 crores. It is the habit of the moneylender to keep the borrower in a condition of financial serfdom, and probably the interest charges payable, taking everything into consideration, do not fall below 200 crores per annum. In the Punjab the Registrar of Co-operative Societies puts the debt at 90 crores, equivalent to 19 times the land revenue, or Rs. 76 per head of those who are supported by agriculture, a sum equivalent to 3 years net income of the land.

The economic consequences of such conscienceless usury are reflected in the depressed conditions of the industries dependent on the Indian market. After all, protective duties imply dependence on the domestic market and if that fails, no expansion is possible.

It is necessary to draw a distinction between industries dependent on capital outlay, and industries dependent upon individual outlay to meet individual needs. Instances of industry dependent on capital outlay are those which supply railway rolling stock and materials, hydro-electric power projects, mill machinery, and so forth. When the investors' pockets are wide open, such industries prosper. When the investors' pockets are only half-open or entirely closed, they experience a lean time.

Of the bazaar trades, which meet individual requirements, the most important is, of course, the piecegoods trade, which incidentally forms a test of progress. In the years 1909-14 the balance of cloth available for consumption in India averaged 3,582 million yards; and in 1927-28 the total was 4,128 million yards, an increase of under 550 million yards, and as meanwhile Indian mills had more than doubled their output it is evident that many consumers have been forced by the higher price-level abandon the finer and more expensive imported goods for the heaper and coarser goods manufactured in India. Whereas efore the war Lancashire exported over 6,000 million linear rds, last year's shipment was under 4,000 million yards, and the decline India accounts for 1,200 million yards, due on the e hand, to larger production in India and, on the other, to ger imports from Japan. If the consumption of piecegoods fords a reliable measure of progress, the improvement in the conomic condition of the rural population in the last two decades has been insignificant. Such a conclusion is supported by the calculation that, instead of diminishing, the percentage of the population dependent on agriculture is increasing despite the intervening expansion in urban industries.

Three Facts Emerge.

(1) That industrial development is not proceeding at a pace involving, or likely in the near future to involve, any appreciable withdrawal of labour from agriculture.

(2) That the activities of the Agricultural Departments, although essential and beneficial, have been too limited to effect any substantial improvement in agricultural production or in the cultivators' standard of living.

(3) That the extension of the co-operative movement, as far as can be calculated, is, at best, only acting as a brake on the increase of rural indebtedness.

As a means of reducing the percentage of the population dependent on agriculture the development of urban industries in India cannot be regarded very hopefully, and for two reasons; (1) as already noted, the negligible purchasing power of the average cultivator; (2) the effect of the methods of mass production and rationalisation in reducing the number of industrial workers required to produce a given output. The figures concerning cloth production and cousumption in India afford good illustration. In 1927-28 the production of India's 30 cotton mills totalled 2,356 million yards against 1,973 millio yards imported. That is to say, in that year, the Indian mill met well over half the total Indian demand for mill made good In order to achieve this output the Indian mills employed we under 400,000 workers. In regard to mechanical equipme cotton mills in India cannot afford to be less efficient an up-to-date than competing mills abroad, and that means tha sooner or later, Indian mills will be forced to instal automati looms which, according to reliable testimony, are more efficient and economical than the present looms and involve the employment of only half as much labour. Allowing for the relative inefficiency of the Indian mill worker, it does not appear risky to assume that Indian mills, equipped with automatic looms, could, with the aid of 500,000 workers (only 100,000 more than are already employed) manufacture all the cloth India now consumes. This is, for many reasons, not an immediate possibility, and the figures quoted are intended only to illustrate the trend of events. In Japan where there are already 15,000 automatic looms in operation, economy and efficiency are further subserved by the concentration of 40 per cent. of the cotton trade in the hands of only four firms.

In India, mass consumption, on the scale rendered necessary by modern methods of mass production, can be created, only by a concurrent modernisation of agricultural processes enabling larger and better crops to be produced, and also enabling the cultivator to retain a larger share of the profits of production. So long as Indian agriculture remains on its present primitive basis, urban industries, employing modern machinery, occupy a position comparable only to a motor car " paced " by a bullock-cart.

To sum up, the three R's of economic development in India are rural reconstruction; rationalisation of urban industries; and " Rationing " of the country's limited investment surplus in order to secure the maximum development and profit within the minimum period.

There might be less apathy in some directions, and less opposition in others, concerning industrial expansion in India if it was more generally realised that economic development is necessary not only for its own sake but in order to enable India to enjoy the amenities of modern civilisation. The Indian Fiscal Commission urged a considerable development of Indian industries on the ground that " such a development would be very much to the advantage of the country as a whole, creating new sources of wealth, encouraging the accumulation of capital, enlarging the public revenues, providing more profitable employment for labour, reducing the excessive dependence of the country on the unstable profits of agriculture, and finally stimulating the national life and developing the national character." There is nothing to object to in that statement of the case, and I have only endeavoured to indicate that unless rural development proceeds concurrently, industrial expansion cannot go very far. The jute industry is the only Indian manufacturing industry which has succeeded in building up a large export trade and its ability to do so is not unconnected with the fact that jute is a monopoly product never yet grown outside India. Other Indian industries depend on the purchasing power of the Indian market which in turn is determined mainly by the economic condition of the rural population. The limit of industrial development obtainable by tariffs is, in fact, already in sight. This is not to say that State aid to industrial development should be withdrawn or diminished but only that it should take more varied forms, tariffs still being retained and imposed where a case is made out for assistance in that form, but this fiscal assistance being supplemented and reinforced by a more vigorous pursuit of ancillary measures, equally essential, such as scientific research, technical and commercial education, manipulation of railway rates, improvement of all forms of transport facilities, development of electric power projects and so forth. The Government of India is considering the formation of an Economic Advisory Council, on the British model, and, given the necessary status and staff, such an organisation would probably be able to secure a more rapid, even and co-ordinated development of the country's economic resources than has been achieved so far.

In regard to rural reconstruction, only the rural population can finance rural amenities, and they will not be able to do so until measures are adopted facilitating the growth of larger and better crops thereby increasing the income of the cultivator to a point enabling him to bear larger local taxation without hardship. To accelerate crop improvement India needs a series of Crop Committees modelled on the Central Cotton Committee. A Central Jute Committee is planned, and the formation of a Rice Committee, financed by a small export cess, is under official consideration. A Sugar Committee has been formed by the new Agricultural Research Council, and a Wheat Committee, financed by a cess on wheat imports as well as wheat exports, is desirable.

One final word in regard to finance. When estimating the demands on India's savings, the capital required for non-industrial purposes should not be overlooked. In England and Wales, with a population smaller than that of Bengal, the outstanding loan debt of the local authorities exceeds £1,000 millions, expended on public utility or trading services, housing and townplanning schemes, etc. In India expenditure of this description has hardly begun. Such outlay, however, represents the price of progress and the borrowing involved cannot be ignored in calculating the demands, immediate and potential, on India's very limited surplus capital.

R. W. Brock

THE ARABESQUE AND GROTESQUE STORIES OF EDGAR ALLAN POE.

That which is recognized to be the most distinctive contribution which Americans have made to literature is the short story. Edgar Allan Poe is one of the greatest writers of the American short story. He wrote a different kind of story than did the men who might be ranked with him: Washington Irving, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Bret Harte, or Joel Chandler Harris; but Poe did not retell any legends, his chief purpose was not to allegorize, he did not bring locality into his work, and there is no folklore in his stories. He did not look to the moods and whims of society for his creative inspiration, but to his unchanging visions.

"There is no more effective way of realizing the distinction of Poe's genius," says Brownell, "than by imaging American literature without him."[1] Poe's stories are usually divided into classes. Of the *Tales of Death*, *The Fall of the House of Usher*, and *Ligeia* are, in tone and climax, nearly perfect. Poe not only told a story, but he produced an effect. Of the *Old World Romances*, the most outstanding are *The Masque of the Red Death*, *The Cask of Amontillado*, and *The Assignation*. Poe's arabesque stories are far better than his grotesque ones, which suffer by comparison. Although it is difficult to find any derivation of Poe's tales, some critics, however, have mentioned Defoe and Bulwer as the writers who have given some direction to Poe's genius. Hoffmann, of course, has been mentioned, and, perhaps, comes nearer to the mark. Brander Matthews, in *The Short Story: Specimens illustrating its Development* says, "Poe first laid down the principles which governed his own construction and which have been quoted very often, because they have been accepted by the masters of the short story in every modern language.[1]

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[1] *American Prose Masters*, Brownell, N. Y., Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1909.

The first to recognize in the sketchy tales of his day the possibilities of a type of literature distinctive in its rôle was Poe. Although his stories fall into many topical divisions, he exemplified two structural types only: those with the suspense relieved at the end, and those with the suspense relieved in the middle of the story. Most of the grotesque and the arabesque stories have the suspense relieved at the end, for the last paragraph is usually the key. Such tales as *Berenice, Morella, The Assignation, Ligeia, The Fall of the House of Usher, The Masque of the Red Death, The Cask of Amontellado,* are masterpieces of this type. This kind of story is necessarily short because suspense, especially the tragic kind in Poe, becomes burdensome if the climax is unnecessarily delayed.

The person who happened in youth to run across *The Fall of the House of Usher* is not likely to have forgotten the impression left on his immature mind—that impression of the gruesome and the beautiful. Nor are there many who, in more mature years have read this story, can forget the power of its everlasting charm. Perhaps this story and *Ligeia* reach the point of the romantic element in Poe's genius. The sombre, gloomy surroundings whose hues Poe alone knew the secret of, the physical appearance of Usher, the last of his race, and Lady Madeline, his emaciated sister, seem like an intensifying force, which draws one to some unknown place. When this place is reached, in the copper-covered vault in which Lady Madeline is entombed, and when Usher's dread discloses itself the house and the race, by the sudden call of death, sink into black oblivion. No wonder Poe says, "From that chamber and from that mansion I fled aghast..."

No matter how many short stories one may have read, the short stories of Poe will be burnt into his memory because of their combination of the horrible and of the beautiful. What is any more horrible than the death of the prisoners in the *Pit*, which is inhabited by countless numbers of ravenous, writhing rats, or the vibrations of the *Pendulum*, the glistening axe? Or what is more beautiful than the lovely scenery one sees in *Eleonora*? "And, here and there, sprang up fantastic trees, whose tall slender stems stood not upright, but slanted gracefully towards the light that peered at noon-day into the center of the valley. Their bark was speckled with the vivid alternate splendor of ebony and silver, and was smoother than all save the cheeks of Eleonora..." It was in this earthly paradise beneath the fantastic trees, which burst into bloom with bright star-shaped flowers, that love came to the boy and to the girl. Poe's stories haunt one long after they have been finished, for, long after they have been laid aside, one can still see the teeth in *Berenice*, the changing eyes of *Morella*, and the drops that fall into the goblet of *Ligeia*.

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[1] 1907, p. 25.

In *Ligeia*, *Morella*, and *Eleonora*, one can see the prevailing and, no doubt, dominant thoughts of Poe's inner life. In *Ligeia* the sad and stately symmetry of the sentences, their weird and musical cadence, produce on one a peculiar effect.

In one of Poe's letters he says, "There is one particular in which I have had wrong done to me, and it may not be indecorous in me to call your attention to it. The last selection of my tales was made from about seventy by one of our great little cliquists and claquers, Wiley and Putnam's reader, Duyckinck. He has what he thinks a taste for ratiocination, and has accordingly made up the book mostly of analytical stories. But this is not *representing* my mind in its various phases—it is not giving me fairplay. In writing these tales one by one, at long intervals, I have kept the book unity always in mind—that is, each has been composed with reference to its effect as part of *a whole*. In this view, one of my chief aims has been the widest diversity of subject, thought, and especially *tone* and manner of handling. Were *all* my tales now before me in a large volume, and as the composition of another, the merit which would principally arrest my attention would be their wide diversity and *variety*. You will be surprised to hear me say that (omitting one or two of my first efforts), I do not consider any one of my stories *better* than another. There is a vast variety of kinds, and, in degree of value, these kinds vary—but each tale is equally good *of its kind*. The loftiest kind is that of the highest imagination—and for this reason only *Ligeia* may be called my best tale.'' But Poe really rewrote *Morella* in *Ligeia*. In *Al Aaraaf* he had framed out of the breath of the night wind and the idea of the harmony of universal nature a fairy creature.

> '' Ligeia, Ligeia,
> My beautiful one!
> Whose harshest idea
> Will to melody run.
>
> Ligeia! wherever
> Thy image may be,
> No magic shall sever
> My music from thee.''

In Poe's story, though, Lady Ligeia has no human quality, yet her thoughts and capabilities are those of a spirit. In *Ligeia* Poe has not only shown the victory of the soul over death, but he has demonstrated all his poetic and literary skill.

As one thinks of *Ligeia*, he also thinks of *Morella*, for that is its prototype. Poe quotes the following at the beginning of *Ligeia*: ''And the will therein lieth, which dieth not. Who knoweth the mysteries of the will with its vigor? For God is but a great will pervading all things by nature of its intentness. Man doth not yield himself to the angels, nor unto death utterly, save only through the weakness of his feeble will.'' In *Morella*, as in *Ligeia*, the characters are occupied with the same mystic philosophies—absorbed in the same recondite questions of ''life and death and spiritual unity,'' questions of ''that identity which, at death, is or is not, lost forever.'' Towards the end

of these stories, one can see a lingering pity and so
dead; and ever recurring pang of regret and re
of having grieved them by some involuntary wrong
or forgetfulness. This remorseful pity for the
haunting remembrance is a distinguishing feature
The existence of such a feeling as a prevalent mood
of which there is ample proof, is not in keeping
sensualism with which he has been unjustly charge
he loved he showed unusual fidelity. A certain
nected with his youth will illustrate this. At the
while he was attending the academy in Richmond
because it has a direct bearing upon some of his t
day went home with a school-mate. Here he sa
time Mrs. H...S..., the mother of his young
she entered the room, this lady took his hand and
so sweetly and so gently that Poe's sensitive heart
ted. He was unable to speak. When he return
longed to hear the sweet voice again. Later this
became the confidant of all his boyish sorrows and
had a great effect upon him. After she died, Poe,
visited nightly the cemetery where she was burie
thoughts of her filled his heart with a profound sorr
ally on cold and dreary nights, when the winds w
over the graves, he always lingered the longest.

In De Quincey's *Suspira De Profundis*, there
ideas which haunted the mind of Poe during his
to the cemetery, only De Quincey's lost love wa
It is not difficult to see what prompted Poe to wr
Silence. It is no wonder that " the fable which th
in the shadow of the tomb " haunted him consta
there are strange tales in the volumes of the Magi—
bound, melancholy volumes of the Magi—glorious
the Heaven, and of Earth, and of the mighty Se
Genii that overruled the sea and the earth and the
there was much lore, too, in the saying of the Sybil

holy things were heard of old by the dim leaves that trembled around Dodonabut, as Allah liveth, that fable which the Demon told me as he sat by my side in the shadow of the tomb, I hold to be the most wonderful of all! And as the Demon made an end of his story, he fell back within the cavity of the tomb and laughed. And I could not laugh. And the lynx which dwelleth forever in the tomb, came out and sat at the feet of the Demon and looked him steadily in the face."

These lonely visits to the grave give a key to much that seems strange or out of the ordinary in the stories of Poe. He has imagined all the different phases of sentient life in the grave in the *Colloquy of Monos and Una,* which might be compared to *The Conversation of Einos and Charmion.* In both there is a story of death. Monos, who died first, is followed by Una, and, after the end of the century, they are again united. Some of the best of Poe is to be found in the conclusion of *Shadow,* that story which might be called a meditation on death. "Yea! though I walk through the valley of the Shadow." Surely no one ever could have written *Shadow* or *Silence* unless he were familiar with the Old Testament prophets. In dignity and elevation of thought, in absolute simplicity of style and structure, Poe's workmanship in this selection alone "would place him not only among the masters of English prose but among the still smaller number of those whose mastery seems not so much a homage to ancient models as an illumination from the same central sun."[1] *Shadow,* that ominous harmony of some immortal Eld not of Rome, Greece, or Egypt, but from them all; and *Silence,* that fiendish fable of the prehistoric Libyan waste, may well form the epilogue of the opening series of Poe's tales of the grotesque and the arabesque. The tone of these stories is melodious, if fateful. If one complains of these mystic tales of Life and Death, that he does not care for the awe and the mystery, which is found in such tales as *The Fall of the House of Usher,* or in *Ligeia*, or if he does not care for the strange, beautiful melody and the enchanting perfume and vivid color of *Eleonora*, he is then admitting that he wants all writers to follow the same mould.

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[1] C. Alphonzo Smith.

Shadow is similar to *Silence* and yet it is different. "The mountain pinnacles of slumber, valleys, crags, and caves are silent." This story is a dirge of desolation: noisy desolation followed by brooding and boundless silence. As "the curse of tumult" marks the end of desolation, "the curse of silence" announces the approach of unbroken stillness. "In the toga of old Rome" the introduction of a single character shows that Poe, as in "The Coliseum" must have been thinking of silence and desolation against the background of Rome that was; but he does not picture in this story the "grandeur that was Rome," for the theme is "the abomination of desolation."[1] Ruin is depicted "as an incubus upon our hearts, and a shadow upon our brain."

The Conversation of Eiros and Charmion presupposes the fulfilment of those "passages in the most holy of writings which speak of the final destruction of all things by fire." "I will bring fire to thee." In the other world Charmion and Eiros meet. For ten years Charmion has been an immortal and Eiros has been immortal for just a few days, having died in the universal conflagration. Charmion, who knows only a few facts of the disaster, is extremely anxious to know all the details. In the description of Eiros, there is a blazing intensity, but the best passages are those of the "elasticity of frame and vivacity of mind" as the comet comes nearer and in "the wild luxuriance of foliage, utterly unknown before." *The Power of Words* is similar to *The Conversation of Eiros and Charmion*, for two people in the other world are holding a conversation about supramundane things. The keynote of this conversation is that spoken words create vibrations without end in the ether and these vibrations create new forms. The final thought is that the spirit in which words are uttered is also communicated to new worlds.

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[1] Matthew, 24 : 15

Poe quotes and requotes Bacon's saying: "There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion." One might well apply this to Poe's grotesque and arabesque tales. If one commences to analyze his stories, though, perhaps he will find that his characters are not accurate transcripts from real life, but Poe has that imagination which sends forth weird shapes. The universality of his themes, his unusual intellect, his imagination, his feeling for form, color, and enchanting melody make him a unique writer of the short story. His strange, unforgettable stories mesmerize one's mind and one's senses: they burn themselves into one's memory. Poe has excelled in ingenuity of construction and in effective painting. He knows how to make one weep or to laugh. His mastery of English, if it is great in his poems, is greater in his stories. His rich style is plastic and pictorial; his language takes on a gravity and a beautiful melody. Lowell has defined style as "the establishment of a perfect mutual understanding between the worker and his material." In Poe's stories one finds the "perfect mutual understanding." One finds it in the flying reveries that surround life as well as death—the natural and the supernatural.

It has been well said that "Poe has chosen to exhibit his power chiefly in that dim region which stretches from the very utmost limits of the probable into the weird confines of superstition and unreality" and that he combines in a very remarkable manner two faculties which are seldom found united—a power of influencing the mind of the reader by the impalpable shadow of mystery, and a minuteness of detail which does not leave a pin or a button unnoticed." In the grotesque story of *Hop Frog* this is particularly true, for in this story each detail is clear cut. The fat king and his seven ministers, the dwarf jester and the little dancing girl pass before the mind's eye as if on a screen. So well is the scene pictured that one can almost hear the crackling of the flames above the cries of horror as the king and the ministers burn. One finds himself rejoicing that Hop Frog and Tripette escaped.

It would not be an easy task to find many authors who have revealed such varied powers. But Poe's grotesque stories have less charm than the arabesque ones. It is doubtful if anyone could read the latter without being impressed by their serene and sombre beauty. If Poe had written nothing else besides these grotesque and arabesque stories, they would suffice to stamp him as a man of genius and the master of classic style. The nature of Poe's material has had something to do not only with foreign appreciation of his genius, but with the impression of distinct individuality which these tales produce. Since Poe came from a family of naturally optimistic temper, with unlimited confidence in their ability to deal with the varied problems of life, he stands alone among men of his class in fastening, as by instinct, upon the gloomy and tragical aspect of experience. This gloom enshrouds *The Fall of the House of Usher.* Poe's daemonic force, his passion for perfection of form, his love of beauty, and the sensitiveness of his temperament are all subtly combined in the quality of distinction which characterizes his arabesque and his best grotesque stories. His individuality is not only expressed with the utmost refinement of feeling and truth, but it is strongly marked. Into his tales he brought artistic integrity and capacity and suffused them with purpose, dignity, and grace. The high quality of his mind is ever apparent even in some of his grotesque stories, which might be considered not the best. His stories have a first place in American literature not because of their range, their spiritual or ethical significance, but because of their beautiful individuality, their form, their workmanship, and the purity of their art.

It has been said that Poe's grotesque and arabesque stories are the outcome of his drunken mind. While it is unfortunately true that he drank, it is not fair to say that his stories are simply a reflection of a mind drenched with alcohol. These stories are an outcry against doubt and despair. He is not the writer of stories of death and darkness and decay in the sense in which Wordsworth is the poet of nature. In Poe's stories, there is a ring of spiritual protest. Death and darkness he hated. There is much evidence of love and light, of beauty and harmony. As one recalls that Poe's career came to an end with the chant "All is Life-Life-Life-Life within Life—the less within the greater, and all within the Spirit Divine," he can see golden sunshine on "the misty mid region of Weir," and in "the ghoul-haunted woodland of Weir." Edgar Allan Poe is not the great genius of night and darkness, but of day and light.

LOUISE A. NELSON

A CHAPTER FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUT

The supremacy of Reason over Faith had been taug great emphasis by the most powerful writer of the 18th in France. The idea had also been impressed upon th of the generality of the people that all the human ins that then existed were meant only for the oppression weak and the poor. Among the oldest of such conc human life was the Church of Rome. It should there overthrown. So long, of course, as power was in the those who still stuck to old ideas, this could not be do when the temporalities were gradually seized by the new tion, they thought of carrying their ideas into execution. was religion? Simply a fetish, converting human bein weak creatures that would be afraid to take any step direction without humbling themselves in a hundred whose liberty would be fettered with a hundred res placing immense obstacles in the way of progress. Wh God? One who was the creation of fear working in the weak persons and who required to be propped up by the nary theories of diseased minds,—slender threads that easily snapped by the slightest pull of reason. What Church? Why, a joint-stock company of a number of whose vested interests were to carry on traffic in human the different concerns of whose life might be exploited to the profits of the most nefarious business, which, howev made to assume the holiest garb in the whole world. should, therefore, be done away with—to the greatest the human society. The Church should be overthrow should be dethroned and demolished, and Religion as so that might be of help to lift human beings to a high should receive no attention from those whose sole busines be concerned with mundane things.

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The people had of course been suffering in the country and it was pointed out with great force that the religious institutions of the earlier times had failed to lessen their miseries. Certain new principles were therefore taught to them, but they caused greater confusion and led them to think that Religion itself had been found to be wanting. They could therefore be easily influenced by those who were then playing the leading part in the great upheaval of the country, and stood by their side in pulling down the religious institutions. A new constitution was first given to the Church to bring it under the control of the secular authorities. But that would not satisfy the new school. God himself should be banished from the world. So, later, everything was turned down. The worship of God was given up, and the churches were converted into halls of public meeting for secular purposes. Images of Christ and saints of the Catholic world were removed and statues of the popular heroes were placed in their stead. Scriptures and other things considered sacred in olden times were also taken away; even the very bells that had formerly sent forth calls of prayer to the inhabitants of the neighbouring localities were melted down and forged into pieces of cannon.

But Religion, however much one may like to dispense with it altogether, cannot be banished from the heart of man, as it is a part and parcel of human existence. The natural craving which is really stronger than any other in man requires to be satisfied. If the people were required to abjure their faith in God, a substitute should be found ; otherwise there would be considerable restlessness. Now the time came for the enthronement of Reason in the place of the old Religion. The worship of Reason was instituted, and that too with great pomp and ceremony. A grand procession was taken through the streets of the capital, and a woman of no character but dressed in gorgeous attire and with a tiara on her head was carried along with it. She was installed in the Church of Notre Dame as the Goddess of Reason to receive the homage and worship of the followers of the New Religion.

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For some time, of course, the new Goddess continued to retain her place in the society. Being enveloped in smoke raised by the heat of power and audacity, truth could not be discerned, and the glamour of the new arrangement kept men blinded. But how long would human beings be satisfied with the travesty of Religion? A resentment was sure to come and did come within a short time. The authors of the new system soon lost their position in the state, and paid the severest penalty for their deeds in a way which could not have been dreamed of by them. . .

Others appeared on the scene and seized the reins of supreme power. They had been associated with the former body of men in their work of destruction, but did not approve of all their measures. God might be dethroned, a decree might be issued that no worship was due to Him. But men could not be divested of the idea of One who is regulating the natural phenomena and guiding the destinies of the world. "If God did not exist, He should be invented," so declared one who was then the popular hero. Otherwise everything would be unintelligible, the guidance of human society would be impracticable. He therefore went to institute the worship of a Supreme Being. The demands of the religious instinct in man were thus conceded to.

But it was a half-hearted and partial concession. The satisfaction of the human heart was not complete. For some time no further change could be introduced. But it appeared that an early opportunity would be seized to give back to the people what had been taken away from them. That happened when one with a great comprehension of the realities of the world and a firmer determination of mind came to be placed at the head of the state. It was when Napoleon Bonaparte rose to be the First Consul that the restoration of the ancient Church and Religion of the country was effected. Once again the bells were to ring out invitation to the religious-minded, the doors of the churches were to remain open to receive worshippers, the priests were to offer gratitude and prayers to the altar of the Most High. The call of the Divine to the human heart could thus be responded to. Of course as the patriot hero of France the First Consul introduced certain changes in the administration of the Church. The ecclesiastics should be officers of the French people, practically independent of outside papal authority.

But it will be pointed out that this restoration of religion was brought about from political considerations. Napoleon had not any particular religious turn of mind. It was not as a good son of the Church that its authority was re-established by him. Just to strengthen his position in the state he might have yielded to the demands of a certain section of the people. But, what was this political necessity? Why could he not with his absolute command over an excellently trained and experienced body of soldiers think himself quite secure in carrying on the administration? What thing did he recognise to be missing in the society? What did he hope to supply by bringing back religion? The credit of a religous reformer need not be given to him, but as a far-sighted governor of human society he could see that the strongest bond to keep together a number of human beings is Religion, that for the maintenance of peace and order, both in an individual and in a society, the religious stir that is natural in them, should be pacified. It would not do for the good Government of the world to do away with Religion. The spiritual force should not be ignored, but should be laid under contribution to sober down the erratic promptings of the other forces that work in human beings. God, however much denied in the ordinary spheres of life, particularly in times of contest for gaining places in the world, reasserts Himself, reinstalls Himself in the hearts of men. However much they may like to remove Him farthest away from the world, He will be found to be there, demanding His share to control their activities.

But alas! how too often has this great lesson of history been forgotten, both in the individual life of a man and in the collective life of a society. Endowed with various powers, man thinks in a certain stage of his life that they will be quite sufficient for his purposes. But in the midst of difficulties and trials that beset his path, how often he is found to fail, to lag behind the progress which should be attained by him. A time comes when good sense prevails in him and he thinks of bringing to his help the tremendous force of religion, which, if allowed to operate in proper season, might have given a different direction to his life. So also it is seen in respect of organised groups of individuals. Various problems confront the human society, but it is thought that they can be tackled without any reference to religion. Nay, the opinion seems to have gained ground that religion will only make matters worse. Banished, therefore, it should be from all human concerns. It will be asked, has not religion been found to be the greatest disturber of peace in the world? Further, the necessity that might have existed in the French society in the beginning of the 19th century no longer exists. The world has advanced far during these hundred years. Man has now many other duties to attend to, many other good works to do, many other forces to rely on, than the old-fashioned religion. Of course one is quite free to think in this way. But, if an appeal be made to the innermost self in him, what verdict will come out from there? Can religion be ever banished from the human world? Each one of us is recognising in the heart of our hearts a religion and will be only too glad to take recourse to it to get some rest, some peace, in the midst of the anxieties that are gnawing our very existence. We know religion, know it to be true and indispensable, but, we have not yet learnt how to give proper expression to it. The form that we generally put on it is found to be unacceptable. A hard crust we build upon its surface, which is likely to offend others. But this is because the great lessons of history are too often ignored by man; because the fullest advantage is not taken of all the opportunities that have come to him. Time and again it has been pointed out that religion is not a set of dogmas and is no mere observance of rites and ceremonies. But how very few are found to be heeding these universal indications. We are still satisfied with our old formalities. The result is that religion makes no impression upon us, brings about no change in our conduct. As no appreciable good is followed by observing religion, it is being rejected as of no value in human life. But, religion as a thing of the heart, as a spontaneous prompting of the inner self to attain something higher and nobler in life, as a sure guidance of one to find out and establish proper relations with others who have been formed in the same mould and been equally privileged to live in this great world, cannot but be a living force. It will undoubtedly help in the growth of life in an individual and will also contribute largely towards the settlement of the vexatious problems of the world. Again it will be asked, has not religion been tried and found to be wanting? History will be quoted to show that almost in every country of the world people have in sheer disappointment given up the idea of laying religion under contribution for any great purposes of the human society and relegated it to a most private corner of human life, nay, have thought of abandoning it altogether. Failures, undoubtedly, will be noticed on many occasions in the history of the world.. But, if carefully examined, it will be seen that religion failed because it was mixed up with something else, and because it was not freed from unholy alliances. Further, one thing is essentially necessary to bring religion into the field of human activities and allow it to do its work. In all other spheres of men's work, he has tried to adapt himself to the changed circumstances. New methods of producing and exchanging the necessaries of life, of imparting secular education, of conducting literary and scientific pursuits have been introduced,—different from those which were followed in earlier times. And it may be said, it is in proportion to the adaptability to the changed times that progress has been made in any sphere of human activity. Religion should also be taken up and cultivated in a new spirit which is consonant to the present surroundings of the world. This condition must be satisfied. The old good things of the world can, of course never be given up; what has once come has come to stay here. But these things must be reconciled to the present state of the human society, before they can continue to be blessings to mankind. The world has been changing in fulfilment of the will of the Lord of the Universe. The Spirit of Eternity, which is also the spirit of the time, is always showing the new poet that leads to progress. The guidance of this spirit should be accepted in the first place.

In the midst of the divergent views held of religion, and the clashing interests adhered to by religious communities, it will be possible to find a place of meeting each other on terms of reconciliation, if we advance under the guidance of the new spirit. Let us not be scared away by an apprehension of disagreement and quarrel. The greater the attention, the clearer will the question become. The country, the world, is indeed very much in need of religion. The relations between the students and the teachers, between the employees and the employers, between the rulers and the ruled, and between all sections of humanity, require to be bettered,—we all are very keenly feeling that. But we do not know how to bring that about. Whenever educational and other great problems confront any society, people are fighting shy of religion, and trying to keep it at a safe distance in apprehension of confusion and disaster that might follow its introduction. But is this the right view of looking at a thing whose great power each one of us is feeling in the most secret recesses of our hearts? Every other means is being employed, every other force is being tried, except, one is afraid, that great and true one which can bring on success to the efforts of mankind. Wise heads put together have effected solution of many other problems of life ; sincere hearts working together will certainly be able to untwine the entanglement of religion in human life and society. The old, tried solvent, if properly mixed with human things, will produce wonderful results.

DEBENDRA NATH SEN

POEMS OF INDIA

I.—A Ruined Palace

A tumbled mass of lonely ruins
That lie along a stagnant pool
Neglected and forlorn, where dead
Leaves choke the grace of lotus-blooms
And cobras sun their sinuous length
Upon the broken marbled-steps.
Grown bold in brooding silences,
At dusk the furtive jackals come
And prowl among the empty ruins
Where once was life and light and love.
A breeze sighs as it wanders by,
Thinking how a lovely maid once
Rested by the pool alone, and
Dreamed, as she played upon a lute.

II.—An Indian Mother

Brown and patient little mother,
Still but a child, yet carrying
An infant on your slender hip ;
Already life has touched you, and
Placed wrinkles of perpetual
Questions on your youthful brow.
And yet you never knew the leisured
Hours of girl-hood, playing with
Your coloured toys, and waiting to
Mature. A few years more, and you
Will be a withered flower, pulled
Too soon. Old India's day is brief
And hot, and the bud that at dawn
Was so sweet and fresh and fair,

By night has fallen in the dust,
Lonely, neglected, and forgot.

LILY S. ANDERSON

LOVE'S BITE AND KISS.

Leave not this heart so sore and lone,
A victim to dry Hate—
The hate of self, of what has gone
And what may come from Fate—
With ear to hear but raucous sound,
With eye to see eye foes
With tongue to taste dead, dry food,
To smell but putrid rose.
Food, scorching, kills the pores of skin,
A lifeless void devours the mind,
And starving heart is fed with hate
Of what's me and my kind.
O Love, a drop of smile but shed
And make this dumb heart sing
A song that's heard as joyous life,
The sweet rose-bud of spring.

Sweet Love is this and she is all,
Unchanging joy in rise and fall,
The joy she is to heart and sense,
Of pleasure and joy the quintessence.
What men call pain is but love-bite,
The deepest dark in Love is bright.
Love looks away she leaves her kiss
That ever lives as silent bliss.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI.

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

IV

From 1836 to 1853.

CALCUTTA CENTRAL LIBRARY. UNIVERSITY

Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

The Select Committee of 1836 did not take long to conclude its labour. Though appointed to report upon the salt tax of the whole of India, it practically confined its investigations to Bengal. For, it was the Bengal monopoly, which, as we observed, had, for a special combination of circumstances, attracted the largest share of attention and earned the greatest opprobrium both inside and outside the country.

It was almost a foregone conclusion that the verdict of the Committee would be against the monopoly. "However modified the monopoly may be, the evils of the system," the Committee opined, "cannot be eradicated but by its extinction." Both the interests of the consumers and of the revenue, the report went on to say, would ultimately be best secured by a considerable reduction of the duty under a system of free competition. But the transition from the one to the other was not to be drastic. It was left to the discretion of the authorities on the spot to determine the time and manner of its introduction.

The Committee, however, suggested a few minor improvements that were to be immediately adopted. They recommended that salt should be sold throughout the year even in small quantities of 100 maunds at a fixed price. The price was to be determined by adding a fixed duty to the cost of production. Foreign salt was to be admitted on terms of perfect equality with home-produced salt. The Committee also emphasised the need of adopting a moderate duty that should not in any case exceed the average rate of the Government's net profit for the last ten years. The report was duly forwarded to the Government of India by the Court of Directors with their own explanatory remarks on it and it reached their hands in May, 1837.

It will be within the recollection of the reader how only a few months before the date of the receipt of the report the Government had, of necessity, adopted most of the suggested measures. It then remained for the Government only to fix the rate of duty in the manner prescribed and to assimilate the customs duty to it. But it was not to be easily accomplished. There were unusually prolonged discussions about the principle on which the competition was to be based.

Pending a final decision in the matter, the *ad interim* responsibility of fixing and regulating prices was left in the hands of the Salt Board.[1] During this period matters went from bad to worse. Labouring under the delusion that it was adjusting the price in accordance with the laws of demand and supply, it continued changing prices till it only succeeded in pushing up still further the average whole-sale price of all kinds of salt by nearly 4% between 1837 and 1844.

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[1] The Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, was created in 1819 to relieve the Board of Revenue from some of its responsibilities.

But the duty, even after the adjustment, continued slightly favourable to the importers. For, a considerable outlay incurred in connection with and apparently on account of manufacture was in reality a preventive charge but it used to be erroneously added as an element of the cost price of the domestic manufacture. Moreover, upon indigenous salt the duty was taken in its impure state but as regards the salt from England the duty was taken upon the pure article. (See evidence of F. W. Prideaux before the Select Committee on Indian Territories, 1852-53, No. 72-78). It was five years after, that the first-mentioned error of calculation was found out and the Board of Revenue drew the attention of the Government to the injustice which the native manufacturers suffered from (Letter from the Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated June 29, 1852). A reference was accordingly made to the Court of Directors. The Directors concurred in the correctness of the principle laid down by the Board and authorised its adoption in the next annual adjustment of the sale prices with the confident expectation that it would be found possible to do so without infringing on the spirit of the recommendation of the Select Committee or giving any reasonable ground for cavil."

In 1843 the Court of Directors addressed a despatch in which it clearly elucidated the principle enunciated by the Committee of 1836. It explained that, subject to the maintenance of what the average net revenue then was, the duty was to be fixed as low as possible and was by no means to exceed the average net profit of the last decade of the monopoly. A tentative feeler was then put out. In October, 1844, the duty was brought down from Rs. 3-4 to Rs. 3 and a corresponding reduction in the sale-price of home-made salt was made.

It was a doubly blessed change. Not only did the people benefit by increased consumption but the Government too gained rather than lost ground in respect of revenue. During the first twelve months after the reduction, *i.e.*, between November, 1844, and October, 1845, consumption increased by 1,31,804 maunds and during the next twelve months by 3,20,169 maunds in comparison with the consumption of the year just previous to reduction. As compared with the average consumption of three previous years, the increase during the same period was still more marked, being 3,29,289 and 5,17,654 maunds respectively. At the time of reduction it was estimated that an increased consumption of 4 lakhs was necessary to make up for the loss of revenue. It is thus evident that the actual consumption had soon exceeded the amount and the Government was consequently more than amply recompensed.

The first reduction having succeeded so well, the Government was encouraged to make a second reduction in 1847. The duty was lowered from Rs. 3 to Rs. 2 12 as. There was a simultaneous reduction of the internal price not by 4 annas as should have been the case but by a little more (5⅛ as.). For, the price of salt, when adjusted, in pursuance of the instruction of the Home authorities with reference to the actual expenses of production *plus* the duty, appeared to have hitherto been a little too high. The reduction was followed by largely increased consumption. Between April, 1847 when the duty was first reduced and the close of the following year, consumption showed a total increase of 4,99,829 maunds over that of the previous corresponding period. The revenue, however, underwent a slight decline. But, on the whole the out-turn was extremely satisfactory.[1]

No doubt the average net revenue of the last ten years was to be kept up. But the Government was not disconcerted. There was as yet nothing to show that the utmost limit of consumption had been reached and all scope for further expansion of revenue exhausted. Moreover, it had gradually come to be convinced as never before that salt was dear enough in the country to press hard on the means of the people in the interior and that no small portion of the community obtained no salt at all but were obliged to substitute for it adulterated and often deleterious articles. And it was only by an extensive reduction of duty that any adequate provision of its supply could be hoped for.[2]

In 1849 the duty was reduced for the third time to Rs. 2 8 as. per maund. The new rate of duty was fixed for a period of five years in order to give steadiness to the market. Economies were also effected in most agencies in the expenses of production, so that the price of the indigenous salt was still further reduced. The extent of economy varied from Rs. 2 to Rs. 9 per 100 maunds. It merely furnished a proof of what was long suspected that in respect of salt Bengal had always been saddled with a weight, which was essentially of the nature of a tax, though barren of revenue—a tax that had no place in the budget but had its existence elsewhere in the extravagant and careless management of a monopolistic business.

After the third reduction, the average net revenue decreased by 9% (from Rs. 15,903,903 to Rs. 14,446,755). Still the

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[1] Three-fourths of the deficiency arising from the double remission of duty had been already made up by increased deliveries of duty-paid salt (Statement of the Board of Salt in January, 1849).

[2] Letter from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Government of India relating to the reduction of duty on Bengal Salt, dated 7th April, 1847. See Report of the Select Committee on East India Affairs, 1853, p. 267.

Government had no reason to regret its courageous step. For the average annual consumption, as calculated from what was absorbed by the market during the period, went up by more than 16 p.c. But the comparative increase must have been even more than this ; for we should allow for the reaction consequent on the excessive supply thrown on the market at the prospect of reduction of duty and should further take into account the proportionately larger importation and consumption of pure and fine Liverpool salt in order to get at the true index.[1]

The influx of foreign salt that was increasing by rapid strides especially from 1835 had reached in 1851-52 an amount equal to half the total consumption of the country. The Government was consequently forced to abolish one agency and suspend another. The salt revenue system of Bengal, as old as the political power of the Company,—the system which had kept intact its essential feature through successive vicissitudes and had survived the storm and stress of a most bitter controversy—was thus towards the fag-end of the Company's rule in its first stages of disruption though it was not till 1863 that the system was finally abandoned.

It should however be mentioned here that deviation from the strict principle of monopoly had commenced even earlier in 1847 when after considerable hesitation the Government had allowed two small private factories under European management to manufacture the article subject to the payment of an equivalent excise duty. At first they supplied their salt to the Government on the same terms as other manufacturers. But it was found that the Government could get salt at a cheaper rate from other sources. So the Government refused to receive their salt any longer but in consideration of the large capital, already sunk, the special concession, just mentioned, was granted. But the Government was not then prepared to extend the same principle to the indigenous process of manufacture. And as a matter of fact it had disallowed in 1848 a similar petition submitted by grantees of Saugor Island, when the Government manufacture in the 24-Pergannahs Agency, of which the above island formed a part, had to be stopped for reasons already stated.[1]

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[1] See Letter of the Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 29th June, 1852. Evidence of F. W. Prideaux before Select Committee on Indian Affairs, 1853.

(*To be continued.*)

PARIMAL RAY

TO A PROUD BEAUTY.

I—who can sing as Poets must—
What can I mean to thee,
A lone pale star in a vast blue sky,
A spot in a mighty sea ?
You, with your ivory-tinted flesh,
What think ye of these rough hands ?
Coarse from working with hook and plough
Out on God's open lands.
I have no riches, no gems, nor gold,
They can mean naught to me,
I only crave the wide green fields
And the salt-tang of the sea.
I have only the fragrance of the flowers,
And the sun-gold on the lea,
And my wild free heart, to offer you
In return for your love for me.
I must go singing upon my way,
You must go proudly thine,
But sleeping or waking, in life or in death,
Your vision will ever be mine !

LELAND J. BERRY

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[1] Evidence of F. W. Prideaux before Select Committee, 18 53.

INDIA'S POLITICAL CRISIS[1]

"Whether India shall strive at once for complete Independence or for Dominion status: that is, shall India secede from the British Empire and become completely independent and a Sovereign State; or shall it remain within the empire on the basis of a 'ministerial government,' a national executive responsible to a national legislature, such as Canada and other Dominions of the empire enjoy?" This was the main issue before the Lahore session of the All-India National Congress, held during the last week of December 1929, which decided in favour of the programme of complete independence. This action has resulted in a political crisis of immense magnitude in India. However, no student of Indian political history can ignore the fact that the session of the All-India National Congress held at Calcutta in December 1928 paved the way for this momentous decision in favour of Indian Independence.

In "India's Political Crisis," Prof. Hull has given us an excellent, unbiased and concise presentation of the course of Indian politics, especially the activities of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1928 and the All Parties Conference. He has given a very careful and correct digest of the All Parties Conference and the Nehru Report, which contains an outline of a Constitution for Self-governing India approved by the All-India National Congress. He has discussed important issues of communal representation, rights and the rule of Indian Princes, affecting the cause of Indian nationalism. He has presented facts which are very essential to understand the rapid evolution of the revolutionary march of Indian

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[1] India's Political Crisis, by William I. Hull, Ph.D., F.R. Hist. S., Professor of International Relations in Swathmore College; published by the Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1930: Price $ 2-0-0.

Nationalism. In discussing political problems facing the Indian Nationalist leaders, Dr. Hull makes occasional comparisons with the historical incidents of the revolutionary era of American history. The author has nowhere made a dogmatic assertion regarding the political parties of India and their respective programmes. On the contrary he has tried to give the exact position of various Indian political parties by quoting the utterances of their leaders most effectively.

From the perusal of the book, it becomes clear that Mr. Gandhi is not the only leader of the Indian Nationalists, but the youth of India have many worthy leaders whose names are not known to the American public, but who are more ardent champions of the cause of Indian Independence and who probably will play a more important part in the drama of India's struggle for independence. Until the session of the All-India National Congress was held at Lahore, Mr. Gandhi was an advocate of "Dominion status" for India and he opposed the programme of Indian Independence. One may venture to suggest that during the Lahore Congress Mr. Gandhi moved the resolution advocating complete independence of India, possibly because it was clear to him that the younger generation might not have accepted his leadership with a programme of "Dominion status." The attitude of the younger generation has been well expressed in the following extracts of the speech of Mr. SubhasChandra Bose who advocated complete Independence for India, during the session of All-India National Congress held at Calcutta in 1928 :—

"The youngmen of India have accepted the responsibility of making India free. We revere our older leaders and love them. At the same time we want them to keep abreast of the times. But if our older leaders do not come to a compromise with us who may be deemed the Moderates among the Extremists, the breach between the young and the old schools will be irreparable. Thanks to the Youth Movement, a new consciousness has dawned upon the youth of India. They are no longer prepared to follow blind-folded any and every policy. They have realised that they are the heirs of the future and it is for them to make India free.''[1]

In this connection, it may be proper to note Prof. Hull's critical estimate of the Youth Movement of India. He writes :—

'' There is a very strong and perhaps revolutionary Youth Movement in India, as throughout the world since the World War. This movement is directed largely against the political schism caused in India by the hostility between the Moslems and the Hindu ; and its leaders declare that with the passing of the elder generation and dwindling of religion or ecclesiasticism, in importance, the hereditary hostility between the two religions will be ridiculed out of existence, and all Indians will place India's welfare above all religious strife, which last, indeed, will fall into the limbs of outgrown and forgotten things. While the Youth Movement in India is undoubtedly of exceptional strength and promise, time alone can pass judgment on the accuracy of this prophecy.''[2]

Prof. Hull's discussions give the important indications that the Indian nationalists, during the last few years, are thinking not merely in terms of non-violent non-co-operation, but in terms of international relations and formation of national militia. Under the presidency of the late C. R. Das, the All-India National Congress held at Gaya in 1922, entered upon an attempt to establish agencies in America and Europe, to organize a Pan-Asiatic Federation and to enlist 50,000 volunteers[3] in 1928, during the Calcutta session of the All-India National Congress. Mr. Satyamurti, one of the leading advocates for Indian independence, presented a resolution requesting the Congress to '' establish agencies in other Asiatic countries for the purpose of promoting trade, cultural and political relations among them; these agencies to be established especially at Kabul,

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 156.

[2] *Ibid*, Preface, page. xii.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 11.

Teheran, Constantinople, Moscow, Nanking, Tokio, New York, Berlin, Paris and London.[1]

The Congress Volunteer Movement, according to Mr. Subhaschandra Bose is "a nucleus of future National Militia..."[2] Prof. Nripendrachandra Banerjee in his address before the fifth annual conference of the Volunteers held at Calcutta on the 30th of December 1928 made the relation between the Indian Independence Movement and Indian National Volunteers clear. He said:—

"India is now out of the high roads of adventure in quest of full-fledged national independence......Dominion status is internal autonomy within the British imperialist ring, and independence is autonomy in all branches of national well-being and security outside of British control and suzerainty. I stand for the latter. The mandates given by the All Parties Convention and the National Congress have to be enforced; and the only way they may be enforced is by the creation of a permanent All-India Corps of National Volunteers, auxiliary to and controlled by the All-India National Congress. Every member of this corps, officer and private, will have to take a pledge of loyalty to Congress and accept its creed and ideals, and push on the programmes of work Congress may adopt from time to time. The organization will practically be a federal one, giving great latitude to the provinces. It is to be a fighting organization, but not equipped with powder and shot. I am not quite sure in my mind whether the organization will be absolutely non-violent in thought and word; but so far as I can visualise the near future, it is bound to be absolutely non-violent in deed—but prepared to face baton and even machine gun charges from hostile organizations based on militarism; ready to die but not anxious to kill."[3]

In our estimate, young men like Mr. Bose, Prof. Banerjee, Mr. J. L. Nehru, the present President of the All-India

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[5] *Ibid*, p. 137.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 135.

[7] *Ibid*, pp. 133-134.

National Congress, and others will be the leaders of the future. It is rather significant that these men are now in prison and have been on many occasions. To Prof. Hull, India's struggle for freedom has a tremendous world significance; and he says :— "The eyes of the world are upon them (Indian nationalist leaders); and not only the British, but all other peoples are wavering as regards India and other "backward" lands, between two political philosophies. The first of these was expressed by Lincoln, the Democrat, who declared: 'There is no man so wise or so honest that he can be trusted to govern another man without the other man's consent ;' and by Gladstone, the Liberal, who asserted : 'It is liberty alone which fits man for liberty. This proposition, like every other in politics, has its bounds ; but it is far safer than the counter-doctrine, 'wait till they are fit.' The 'counter-doctrine' was expressed by Curzon the Tory, who opined : 'The Resolutions of India's National Congress are like the popping and fizzing of soda-water bottles......By environment, by heritage and by up-bringing, Indians are unequal to the responsibilities of high office (even) under British rule.'

"History's pages are awaiting the answer of India's leaders to this question, and will record impartially the story of their efforts, failures and successes. Meanwhile, they are not unmindful of Washington's and Franklin's belief, expressed in the poet's dictum :

> "Treason never succeeds ; and for this reason :
> If it succeeds, who dares to call it treason?"

"The eyes of all the world are eagerly fixed on India in this political crisis. If her people and the British can solve their mutual problem by *peaceful* process, they will receive a heartfelt tribute of praise and gratitude from all the world, and will establish for posterity the greatest of historic precedents in favour of the peace-method [1] as against the war-method of settling disputes between nations."

TARAKNATH DAS

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[1] *Ibid*, pp. 180-181.

HE KNOWS, HE KNOWS !

My soul abhors more than aught else on earth
A man or woman of a narrow mind!
A prudish, selfish being, who thinks nought
Of poor dumb beast, nor yet of human kind.
I look at such in wonder, as I think,
Why, surely here is Darwin's missing link!
A prating egoist, whose tongue doth clack
From morn till night on gossip, me and mine!
Ah, better live with placid cows indeed,
And chew the cud and from sweet meadows dine.
I can but wonder, did the Lord devise
Such things as these ?—and if so, was it wise ?
Or is it true that Lilith, part a snake,
Didst propagate the earth with these half men,
And coiling, hissing women who betray ?
Need of this breed the gods alone do ken!
A viper's tongue attends a narrow mind,
As by observing you will ever find.
Sweet Charity must spread her ample robe
About such creatures, who must upward trend,
As does the worm, until it finds its wings—
And Nature's ways no mortal need defend—
For surely, God the creeping things didst make,
'And with fair Eden also sent the snake!'
Our human minds are finite and poor things,
We dare not question Him of whence or why!
Whence comes the snarling, cruel beast of prey?
Whence comes the child, the maid,—why must all die?
Why gives the transient beauty to the rose?
Why life and death and love?—He knows, He knows!

TERSSA STRICKLAND

CHAUCER'S EXPERIMENTS WITH STORY SEQUENCES IN THE MONK'S TALE, THE LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN AND THE CANTERBURY TALES.

The Legend of Good Women is mentioned in the Man of Law's Head Link as the *The Seintes Legende of Cupyde* and in the *Retraction* as *The Book of the XXV Ladies*. *The Legend of Good Women* was evidently left unfinished. It consists of a *Prologue* of which there are two versions : the legends of ten ladies in nine pieces (the last unfinished); Cleopatra, Thisbe, Hypsipyle, and Medea (one piece), Lucretic, Ariadne, Philomela Phillis, and Hypermnestra. The legends, independent of the *Prologues*, consists of 2,144 verses. According to the *Prologue*, Chaucer was to write first the story of Cleopatra, and, at the end, to add a poem on Celceste, the Queen of Love. Nine extant legends follow without links.

The sources of the *Legend* are various. Ovid's *Heroides* contribute to the general conception of the work and were drawn on to a large extent for materials. Chaucer seems to have used many sources for the nine stories. He probably read up on each heroine and adopted whatever appealed to him. The spontaneous delight, ease, and grace put the *Prologue* among the most pleasing works of Chaucer. Much of its charm lies in its personal details. In it one finds out much about the poet's personal interests, his love for books, and his love for the out-of-doors. The separate stories of the ladies can hardly be compared to the separate stories of the pilgrims.

More than once Chaucer had read with avidity Ovid's *Heroides*, and, even since the *Book of the Duchess*, he had designed the plans of poems treating of ideal women. When the commission of the queen happened to give him more spare time, he immediately set to work. For the very first time in his whole career, he had here to write a collection of tales and to produce a similar work to many others. Although Chaucer brought this piece of work under the title of a legend, it was of a secular nature. *Cupid's Legend of Saints* is the name he gives to a later poem which is known as *The Legend of Good Women.* The separate heroines are martyrs of love. Chaucer's plan consisted of the legend of twenty heroines. Cleopatra is the first on the list, and it is she who does not survive Anthony's fall. The last was supposed to be the story of Alcestis. She outshone all others. It is probable that Chaucer's plan for the choice of his other heroines, and the order in which they follow, was altered. His plan, however, was but half completed and there are only ten women in the whole nine legends. The remaining fragment is introduced by a prologue which executes the plan for the whole in a very charming manner. For the last time Chaucer makes use of an allegorical figure. He does not succeed equally well in all the tales. The impression of completeness and uniform fullness is best produced by the legend of Thisbe and the legend of Dido. In Hypsipyle and Medea, the section in which Jason gains the favour of Hypsipyle by the aid of Hercules, particularly attracts one's attention. This is a passage which depends on the free invention of the poet, and introduces a piece of delightful comic intrigue into the tragic action. This art of building up, and of supplementing a story from hints gathered before is shown in the legend of Phillis. As a whole, the earlier tales are better than the later ones. *The Legend of Good Women* was a study in a new field for Chaucer, and a style he had little cultivated. He had written only a few such tales before.

Chaucer took a great part of his material for the *Monk's Tale* from Boccaccio's work, *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium.* He took some things from *De Mulierilres Claris.* Much he borrowed from the Bible, *The Romance of the Rose,* and from his own translation of *Boethius.* He took the story of *Ugolino of Pisa* from the *Divine Comedy.* There is something of the didactic tone in these stories; but perhaps that was Chaucer's idea, for the arrangement of the several stories is not accidental.

The monk is interrupted in his story, for the tender-hearted knight cannot stand so much tragedy all at once. He is then told to relate a hunting tale. The monk insists that some one else should take his place. It falls to the lot of the Nun's Priest. With his story comes the introduction of the animal epic. The well-known story of the Cock and the Fox is related. The figures of Dame Partelote and Chanticleer, Sultana, and the Fox are all drawn with a true and tender hand. The locality, the surrounding, and the season are most vividly depicted.

All the various pilgrims of *The Canterbury Tales*, with all their prejudices, habits, virtues, and vices of their age, and all of them with their individual peculiarities, are put dramatically upon the scene. While each of these tales is a piece of finished art, they are all really intended, taken as a whole, to complete a picture of mediaeval life, especially of English society. On the one hand, there is the variety of the characters on the scene, and, on the other hand, the differences in style of the separate stories.

Several of these tales of Canterbury are linked together by references, backwards and forwards, in the talks on the road; in some other cases, there is no link of any kind between one tale and the next, since Chaucer left the intermediate talk to be filled in when he had written more of the sixty or more stories, which he had at once contemplated.

LOUISE A. NELSON

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF FREDERICK DELIUS.

(*A notable musician of the West.*)

Articles dealing with Western music are very rarely met with in the columns of Indian journals, magazines or newspapers; at least, that has been my experience up to the present time of writing this article. The gramophone has been making tremendous strides in popularity, which means, of course, that the purchasers of these instruments are able to choose their records from a catalogue that is bewildering in its extensiveness. No institution or periodical has catered for educating the average Indian in the finer elements of Western Music, consequently he is surrounded by a galaxy of stars, of which he very naturally does not understand the true value. It is my endeavour therefore to attempt to place before our readers a series of articles wherein the more interesting facts of the musical world are laid bare.

I am taking Frederick Delius as the subject for my present article because I consider him, personally, to be the most interesting musician alive to day. A Delius Festival was recently observed in London under the management of Sir Thomas Beecham the distinguished Conductor ; the Composer himself was present and received a great ovation from the assembled crowds of admirers and fellow musicians, who had come to do homage to the magnificent genius of the blind musician.

Quite recently I had the good fortune to hear a performance, at the Town Hall, Birmingham, of Frederick Delius's tone-poem "Paris," and the performance left me with lively appreciation of this great Composer's art-sense. It is only when this tone-poem is heard again and again that its hidden beauties and mysteries begin to reveal themselves to the listener. It cannot be appreciated by the casual listener, one must study the elements of the composition to really enjoy it. Now I quite realise that if I do not explain myself as I go along this article is going to be a lot of 'double-Dutch' to many readers; so, firstly we will analyse the term 'tone-poem.' A tone-poem is an attempt to give in musical sounds what the painter gives by means of paint and canvas, and the poet and writer give by means of a formation of words. Thus the tone-poem "Paris" of which I have spoken above is an attempt on the part of Delius to give us in musical sounds a picture of Paris by night. "Is it successful," you ask. Yes, if you visualise, with the music, the throbbing pulse of a great city at night. With the aid of a gramophone one is enabled to play "Paris" over and over again until its message begins to unroll itself to the listening ear. Always remember imagination plays a great part in the music-lover's life.

The performance of this work had a rather pathetic interest in view of the fact that Delius, who is fighting a lonely battle with blindness in a peaceful old white house with blue shuttered windows at Grez-sur-Long, near Paris, was himself listening to the performance by means of wireless apparatus. Thus it was impossible to listen to "Paris" without vividly recalling that the composer, so many miles away, lay in his house, deprived of the means of savouring Nature's great loveliness, save by his ear. He is unable to write music any more and although, on the occasional visits of his musician friends, he has attempted to dictate a new composition to them, his endeavours have nearly always failed. Listening to music on the wireless and receiving visits from brother musicians of other lands, are the only joys remaining to cheer this life that was darkened so tragically nearly six years ago.

Delius is of Dutch descent, and he was born in Bradford, in the year 1863. He went to live in Grez-sur-Long, between Paris and Lyons, nearly thirty years ago. When he was about twenty years of age he lived for a time in Florida on a plantation owned by his father. From here he drifted into the United States of America, where he taught music for a time, prior to his leaving and sailing for Germany to study music in earnest.

Whilst in Germany Delius had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of Edvard Grieg, the eminent Swedish composer, a friendship that developed through the years into an association that is difficult to aptly describe ; it is sufficient to record here that this friendship gave Delius's music a distinct bias toward Scandinavian elements when in the course of composition.

"Paris" has called forth much criticism and comment from the world of music but although it is an early work—and rather extreme in construction, it is fully characteristic of the composer, and is, by general consent, considered to be one of his best works. When we pause to consider the great depths that he has plumbed in writing "Paris" we begin to realise that this composition is one of the best of its kind in the musical world, being made all the more interesting and realistic by reason of his judicious use of orchestration. All the resources of a large orchestra are employed to produce this tone-picture and one remains fascinated by the richness of colour and harmony disclosed throughout the entire composition.

Delius has, on more than one occasion, been accused of fumbling dreamily along in his own way—disregarding the fundamental rules of music, and "hitting on felicities by a kind of happy accident" as one English critic once observed. The music of Delius then is generally regarded as something formless and weak, a something that has no definite scheme to fulfil in the great organisation of musical art. But, of course, that is a mistake, a very bad mistake, and just for that terrible injustice we owe Delius a heart-felt apology. For Delius has wit, and a delicate humour, he has a candour that is delightfully embarrassing, and he has a musical sense, or sympathy, that is second to none in the world of musical art. He is, in common with others, not entirely faultless in his style, but then again his music is admittedly individual in style, and is clumsy and faulty when judged by canons that do not apply to it. So although his music may be a little dull to some, others seek those stronger and deeper qualities that more than amply compensate for loss in other directions.

Delius did not spring into fame—nor did he spare any pains when engaged upon a work; the probability is that he should have been recognised as a genius long before he actually was. None realised this more than Delius himself and as he was a journalist as well we find him writing of this in an article that propounded the simple truths of labour and its achievements in art :—

"Genius is not a mushroom growth. Inspiration does not come without hard work any more than a crop of corn. There is no short cut to glory. No great work has ever come into the world save as the fruits of years of earnest, unremitting endeavour on the part of its creator," etc. Delius has been known to spend as long as ten years over a single composition. He has several times re-cast a composition long after it was supposedly finished.

In ambition he aspired to the lofty heights of Beethoven, Bach, Schubert, and others of that ilk. Such an ambition is magnificent. From the very beginning Delius seems to have striven to apprehend the mysteries of the human soul and to express his understanding of these mysteries in music.

In 1899, Delius gave a Concert of his works in London, and later on, in 1907, Sir Thomas Beecham began to perform his works freely up and down the country, so that some of the fame accorded to Delius in Germany, was also accorded to him in England. The actual amount of Delius's work would appear to be considerable, but it is difficult to account for most of it as much was published abroad. I give the following list of compositions as a guide to those of his works that are better known to us :—

"Over the Hills and Far Away" (1895); the "Apalachia" orchestral variations (1902); the piano concerto (1908); "Mass of Life" (1905); "Paris" the great tone-poem (1899); "The Village Romeo and Juliet," an opera (1901); "Sea-Drift," a cantata from Walt Whitman (1903); "Brigg Fair," an orchestral rhapsody (1907); "The Dance Rhapsodies" for full orchestra (1908 & 1916); "North Country Sketches" for orchestra (1914 & 1916); a violin concerto (1916); a double concerto, for violin and cello (1916); the cello concerto (1916); the music for Fleckers 'Hassan' (1920); a cello concerto (1921) besides a number of songs, choral pieces, and compositions for a small orchestra.

LELAND J. BERRY

MY MOTHER

Pale silver frames
The saintly face
And Beauty claims
The charm and grace
Of my Mother!
Soft hazel eyes
Goodly and kind
Therein lies
The purity of mind
Of my Mother!
Like a perfect rose
In a silver vase
Is the beauty I see
In the sweet face
Of my Mother!

CHERRY JALASS

PROSE OR POETRY ?

There is an endless controversy raging at the present time concerning the respective merits and de-merits of poetry. The old idea of regarding poetry as the inane writing of a half-wit has gone for ever ; on all sides it is respectfully acknowledged as a great literary power, and educational factor. I am well aware that on many occasions it has been claimed that we could dispense with poetry but not with prose. I am willing to admit that it would indeed be difficult to proceed in any direction without the aid of prose, but surely poetry, in its own sphere, is equally as important.

The principles of poetry are eternal. Baudelaire once stated " poetry is akin to music through a prosody whose roots plunge deeper into the human soul than any classical theory indicates." Poetry is a divine combination of Life, Love and Music.

It is with great pleasure that I note the great interest India is beginning to take in poetry ; there is a bigger demand for it to-day than ever before. India could not possibly do better than encourage the study of poetry, both for education and recreation, for it covers vast fields in its stride and can safely be reckoned upon as one of the greatest forces in the literary world. In some respects it is an even greater force than prose inasmuch as it touches the most intimate characteristics of life in a most delicately direct manner.

Please do not run away with the idea that I have no use for prose whatever. I have plenty of uses for it ! But I cannot stand idly by whilst its lovely sister art of poetry is assaulted without wielding my pen in its defence ! Poetry has done so much for me, surely I can do a little for poetry ! I have spent many happy and profitable hours in reading prose, and I hope to spend very many more, but I must admit that I spend most of my time in seeking the reading that will yield me recreation among the books of the great poets. It is for such as I and those of you who have the welfare of Indian Education at heart to help to give poetry that prominent position in the Indian literary world that it so richly deserves. In the West we have profited by the study and uses of poetry in our schools and colleges. Why should the Eastern countries neglect such a rich fount of learning ?

There is, of course, both good and bad poetry, as there is good and bad prose ; it is for you to choose your own particular type from the tremendous selection placed at your disposal, but choose it carefully ! Personally I read the poems of such men as Robert Browning, Walter de la Mare, Longfellow, Robert Burns, etc., who are but a few of the many who may be profitably read by all.

Poetry nearly always contains a moral or a beautiful thought for its basis which is impressed upon our minds more readily than if it had been similarly conveyed in the ordinary prose style, due in all probability to the gentle rhythm of the poem or, as it is in some cases, to its delightful brevity of style when it combines all the essentials of good writing. Time and time again I have found myself repeating the lines of a poem that has impressed me unconsciously. And how often, too, we find instances of grown-up men and women able to repeat at length poems that they learnt at school perhaps twenty, thirty or even forty years ago ! It would be practically impossible to so easily memorise prose over such a long period, thus displaying the powers of poetry as an educational factor.

As I have said above, I freely admit the claims of prose, but at the same time I feel that poetry has an equal right to a wider popularity among people of all classes. Almost every periodical that is published to-day has some poetry in its columns as a delightful break from the monotony of prose. Poetry has, or should have, the advantage of being quickly and profitably read. No, prose has many good points, but I don't think that we could do without poetry altogether.

LELAND J. BERRY

A NEW OUTLOOK ON EDUCATION[1]

Fortunately for mankind, a new day—a day in which the individual child is coming into his own, is dawning in the educational world. The New Educators have faced childhood with a clean slate. The old school concerns itself more with the subject-matter than with the child; while the new school focusses its attention on the child. In the formal schools "children are treated as though they are all alike. They are crammed with dry facts. The inability to see their interests and desires, the inability to see their differences in mind and temperament, results in an effort to push them in herds and droves from one grade of the school to another. Sometimes they actually leave school less confident, less joyous, less able to think independently and meet successfully the problems of life, than if they had not gone at all." Such is the case in our country to-day; and why? Because most people are ignorant of education as a science, and they are concerned more with examination passes than with real education. They have a blind regard for the past and particularly for the way in which they themselves were educated. They forget the fact that the last word on education has not been said. Even veteran educationists speak in disparaging terms of those who have seen the new light. These wiseacres say, "they are cranks"; "that is an American fad"; and so on. The advocates of the old school should remember that the various systems and methods that exist to-day all the world over, are legacies left by men who were similarly looked upon as cranks in their own day. In this ever-changing world nothing can be stationary. Our educational system needs change at times; so also our outlook. We must not rest content with our old-world ideas of education : we should look around and follow a policy of eclecticism, combining all that is best in the old and the new.

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[1] The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to the New Era, New Schools in the Old World and Anthroposophical publications, all of which he has freely used.

If we turn our eyes to the New Schools of Europe and America, we see that freedom is the dominant feature of them all. Freedom has become a slogan of the New Education. But people are apt to confuse freedom or liberty with license. They think of it as freedom to do wrong or to do nothing. By liberty we mean the liberty to do right.

In the New World Miss Hellen Parkhurst is a pioneer in the field of education who has sought to liberate the child from the shackles of time-table and old class-room methods. She has started a school, which has well-organised laboratories with expert teachers in each subject. The term "teachers" may be considered a misnomer, because there is the maximum of learning with the minimum of teaching. Contracts are made, as it were, between the child and the instructor for a certain piece of work. The child is allowed to work at his own pace and in his own way. His progress is recorded in graphs. This method develops in the child the power of taking initiative and a sense of responsibility. It fosters also his desire to learn and know more. The teacher, instead of attacking the children, is himself being continually attacked by most of them, barring a few slackers. Dalton Plan, as Miss Parkhurst's method has come to be called, is now too well-known to need any elaborate treatment. It is a triumph for her system that the principles underlying it have influenced many educators in the West and the East as well.

The schools at Winnetka, a suburb of Chicago on the shores of Lake Michigan, aim at modifying the curriculum in order to make a greater adaptation to the individual than is usual and to provide more time for socialised and self-expressive activities. Children learn the common essentials and have group and creative activities. They use self-instructive and self-corrective materials. Each individual child progresses from one unit of work to another, never leaving a unit until it is mastered. They need not be held back by the slower pupils of the class. The teacher moves about among the children—a helper eagerly sought after rather than a task-master to be evaded. A noticeable feature of the Winnetka Schools is that self-government is very well organised in them. The curriculum is subjected to continual examination, and changes are made, when necessary. The schools owe much to Superintendent Washburne who is a fair-minded and zealous educationist.

Perhaps most people do not know that the Columbia University has the biggest teachers' training college in the world. The school attached to it—called the Lincoln School—is also a big one, having sixty-seven members on the staff. The members are all actuated by a common purpose, that is, to find out something about education that will be sound and useful. The school has set itself to the task of re-making the curriculum ; and it has already achieved something. There is throughout the institution no printed course of study, no hard-and-fast syllabus for the work of year or month or day, no final and unalterable order of events. " The Lincoln School is neither the fulfilment nor the fulfiller of any one doctrine, theory or method of education. * * It does recognise the worth of activity in the class-room ; it does set great store on the particular values of individual development in social situations ; it does believe that thinking is a greater end than mastery of form, and creativeness than imitation ; and it does try to get children to learn without distress."

The Old World is also astir. Great Britain has caught a glimpse of the new light, and she has started some pioneer schools. Frensham Heights near Farnham, Surrey, England, is a school of the new type. Preparing youth for life as it really is—this is the ideal that has inspired its founders. The organisers believe that the school must develop spontaneously from within. The Dalton Plan, modified to some extent, has been adopted for the present. Wide choice of work is given in each subject, and importance is attached to original work. The school is self-governing ;—it is governed by a council of the students and the staff. The life children lead here is as simple as possible. Under the plan of individual time-tables and work and no arbitrary punishment, it was possible for any student of the school to slack almost as much as he or she liked ; but the children themselves say that no one ever did it for a long time. They found that it did not really pay and that the slackers were looked down upon by the rest. " The whole atmosphere of Frensham is one of friendliness and work ; teachers and children are friends." This sounds like educational heresy in our country.

The Marlborough Infants' School in Chelsea, a congested part of London, next attracts our attention. Here Miss Mackinder has hit upon a means by which individual work can be done with large classes. Here resourcefulness in developing self-instructive and self-corrective materials opens new vistas for individual instruction. "On entering a class-room in this school one feels immediately a breath of freedom, a stir of activity and intense interest." Two hours are spent on individual work daily. The teacher is not bothered about discipline, because each child is too busy to get into mischief. Such materials as Miss Mackinder has developed foster the working spirit and the desire to learn.

Decroly's work in Belgium deserves more than a passing notice. " Education for Decroly is a development of the child's initiative, his imagination, his ability to observe keenly, to work concentratedly and to co-operate with others." The child's environment is made as rich as possible. Set off against this, there is a definite topic or centre of interest for his work. Children are divided into groups of fifteen. Each member of the group contributes to the central theme, and the members have group discussions of a lively nature. Every individual has to investigate, prepare a report and read it out to the group every week. The training involved in this is admirable. Decroly's influence is an influence," as an

American educationist has put it, "away from the factory methods of grinding out children all alike, and towards the ideal—the full development of each individual child."

The Hamburg experimental schools give a rude shock to the feelings of the orthodox educationist. " Schools with no programme, no course of study, no grades, no examinations, no rules, no punishments—with their whole work centred on the development of each child's soul from within—these are the public experimental schools of Hamburg." The Hamburg educators use their schools not as places for training and instruction but as places where the life energies of the children may be liberated and where they may grow to their fullness in freedom. The freedom allowed to their children is also allowed to their teachers. They do not wish to formalise and deaden their ideas by making a method or general theory. To use their own words, "Our schools are not a completed system. They are a growing and living and changing idea." These schools are quite in keeping with the state of flux that post-war German society is in. The children are probably less advanced in their knowledge of different subjects than those of schools of the old type, but they are more natural and more self-reliant. To some the Hamburg experiment may appear as an extreme swing of the pendulum—one of many swings in the perpetual see-saw of progress. It is, no doubt, the first complete educational revolution in history.

Dr. Rudolf Steiner's Waldorf School at Stuttgart has a peculiarity all its own in that it holds out a message of hope to mankind by bringing spiritual development within the reach of each individual child. There is no application of a particular system, no text-books are used, the knowledge is transmitted as a living thing from the teacher to the class, the very essence being the fellowship and spirituality between the teacher and the taught. The subjects taught in this school are many, but the most prominent thing is the variety of channels along which the artistic faculties of the child may flow. One of these channels is Eurhythmy, which may be defined as "making visible the impulses perceived to underlie language, poetry, song, melody,—making them visible in rhythmic movements, to the accompaniment of music or recitation." In the Waldorf School one finds an application of the principles of Anthroposophy, which pursues its spiritual search—not by adherence to ancient traditions nor by experimenting on external 'psychic' phenomena—but by training the faculties of pure and direct spiritual perception that are latent in the human soul.

The Humanitarian School situated near Amsterdam in a village called Laren, is a practical expression of the hankering of the human soul for peace after the bloodshed and carnage of the last European War. It is a school which believes wholeheartedly in universal brotherhood and peace. An evidence of this is furnished by the fact that a member of the staff suffered a term of imprisonment during the war, because he objected to it. " The school tries to inculcate its ideas in the children, not by direct moral instruction but by the attitude of the teachers and through the type of emphasis placed in the teaching of history, geography and literature. The teachers try to make their own lives, both in and out of school, an example of the ideals they wish their pupils to hold." Though this school is looked down upon as a school of cranks and faddists, the starting of such an institution is a move in the right direction.

All honour to those who, away from the din and bustle of modern life, have set about solving in their own way the eternal problem—the problem of the child. It is, however, too early to predict what these educational experiments will lead to. But it is a folly to dismiss all these as mad men's projects. We should follow, with interest and insight, the onward march of education and then pause to think. The difficulties in the matter of educational advance in India are many. " New Education can go no further until the teeth are extracted from the twin dragons of examinations and curriculum"; and to these may be added other dragons, namely, the conservatism of the people, ignorance and indifference of parents, the medium of a foreign language, the sad plight of teachers, paucity of funds and perhaps a narrow outlook on life. Let us hope for brighter days when some experimental schools will be started in our country with state-aid and public benefactions.

BHUPENDRA NATH SARKAR

LOVE UNCOURTED

I.

Heart-rotten fruits and sand-souled sweets
  Be-muse, be-sight, be-lash, the taste ;
The crack-concealing cup of life
  To eye sweet charm, to touch sore waste.
Oh! shop-man, broth'r unshop thy shop
  Thy dealings fruitless. Let them stop.

II.

Fair woman's love, a charming guile
  She loves thy form and loves thy life
The love of men a shadow's shine—
  A mask to hide poor palsied strife.
Now, love, sweet Love the endless bliss
  She makes all one by touchless kiss.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

THOUGHTS ON PROGRESS

Tests of Progress.

III. Now with regard to the question as to wherein progress consists, it may be observed that, according to general Hindu belief, the progress of man consists in his self-realisation and the progressive society is that order of collective existence which affords sufficient scope for the self-realisation of its individual members.

I am aware that self-realisation is one of those oft-used catchwords which are fascinating on account of their veiled vagueness of connotation. For all that is grand in the modern Hindu utterance the source of inspiration is the Upanishad which teaches in its sweet voice that the true seer or progressive man is he who finds himself in all states of existence, in all species of life, in all classes of men and in all forms of activities.

If self-realisation means just the finding of one's likenesses in others in increasing degrees, I am afraid that it cannot be held out as a thoroughly reliable test of progress because of its inadequacy and one-sidedness. I discover myself in the sun, the moon, the stars, the elements, all species of life, all classes of men, all grades of society, all states of existence, all forms of activities, all modes of expression. I become absolute myself, the infinite being, self-bound, self-determined, there being nothing outside me to determine my limit.[1]

I find the likeness of my Gitā in the Bible, in the Quoran, in the Avesta, and in all that is known as a Holy Book, but I care neither to ascertain whether the Christian finds the likeness of his Bible or the Muhammadan the likeness of his Quoran in the Gitā, nor to mark out, criticise and appreciate the unlikeness of the Gitā in other Holy Books. The inevitable result of this is that by the adoption of the policy of the leviathan (*mātsya-nyāya*) my Gitā swallows up all the Holy Books of the world; and that I read the Gitā, the Gitā alone, even when I actually read the Bible or Al Quoran. If I admire another man's son simply with regard to those features in respect of which he appears to resemble my son, in admiring another man's son I really admire my own.

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[1] *Cf.* Avadhūta Upanishad, 27-32, for the typical utterance of the self-complacent man who has become the infinite being according to his own conviction :

Dhanyo'haṃ dhanyo'haṃ nityaṃ Svātmānam añjasā vedmi |
Dhanyo'haṃ dhanyo'haṃ brahmānando vibhāti me spashṭaṃ ||
* * * *
Dhanyo'haṃ dhanyo'haṃ dhanyo dhhanyaḥ punaḥ punar dhanyaḥ ||

We have seen enough in this country of this one-sidedness, absolutism or crystal vision. The emergence of one into such an idea about oneself is possible where the claims of intuition or acclaimed higher experience pass unchecked, and I would say, inevitable where imagination is allowed to run riot,[1] thought is a foregone conclusion[2] and the aim of life is to fulfil it by being a theatrical self in all matters.[3]

It will be worth while to examine if the matter improves anyway when the test of progress is stated in terms of the Gitā, the Hindu Book of the Divine Song, which proclaims by blowing the awe-inspiring conch-shell that the true devotee or progressive man is he who in increasing degrees finds the Divine element everywhere and perceives the best intentions of God and His noble works of creation in all things and all forms and expressions.

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[1] Here allusions are to the deep-rooted belief of the people of this country in the fanciful stories of creation, supernaturalism and miracles.

[2] In the Mūlapariyāya Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya, the Buddha has been represented as discussing "Who am I? "What am I "Where have I come from?" and "Whither am I going?" which are generally believed in this country to be the ultimate questions, cannot be regarded as problems of philosophy for the simple reason that the answer is already suggested in the question.

[3] The *Avadhūta* or perfectly Pure One represents, according to the Upanishads, the final stage of self-realisation. In the opinion of one of the Upanishads, the *Avadhūta* is the most skilled actor (*naṭa*), and in the opinion of another Upanishad (namely, the Avadhūta), he is the great performer, the great practitioner, whose actions are all artistic and awe-striking (*mahāmakho, mahāyogaḥ kritsnam etach chitraṃ karma*).

It will be apparent even to a superficial examination that what the Gitā proclaims in a loud voice is nothing in effect but a reiteration of the Upanishad ideal of self-realisation, the cult of the Absolute. The brighter aspect of it is that it takes cognizance of this fact that what I do, what you do and what others do, willy-nilly we endeavour in different ways, according to our best capacities and opportunities, to carry out, fulfil and manifest the best intentions of the Supreme Being and the best creation of the Maker. But the upshot of the entire teaching tends to suggest that each of us should be left in his own place to work out his own destiny and should not be made to brook any interference from others. The dictated wisdom is the policy of non-intervention in the Divine business of each individual of finishing himself as the best possible expression of the art of creation.

This is not, however, to say that the Hindu doctrine of self-realisation is without its great significance in truth and its peculiar grandeur in the affairs of men. Without losing sight of it, the tests of progress may, perhaps, be laid down in a more determinate, intelligible, comprehensive and accurate form in the following manner :—

1. Progress consists in the increasing capacity to devise and the increasing preparedness to give effect to those methods of training of men which will enable them more and more not only to discover their likenesses or points of agreement but also to mark out, criticise, appreciate and profit by their unlikenesses or points of disagreement in others.

2. It consists in the increasing preparedness and possibility of men for the attainment of those forms of development—physical, economic, social, political, moral, intellectual, spiritual and artistic—which will more and more compel others who come in contact not only to find in them the striking expressions of themselves but also to note, appreciate and profit by the unlikeness.

3. It consists also in the increasing capacity of men to formulate and the increasing readiness to earnestly and effectively

try those manifold ways of articulation of human powers, thoughts, arts and institutions which will more and more persuade others who come in contact not only to detect the notable analogies of their own powers, thoughts and the rest but also to discern, appreciate and profit by the distinctive features.

To apply these tests of progress to certain concrete cases: if a physically or morally or intellectually or spiritually strong man cannot discover his likeness in me and finds only his unlikeness just to deprecate it, his defective observation or understanding is as much to blame as the defect in my own form of development. The same remark applies equally well to cases where one finds one's likeness in me but fails to notice and appreciate one's unlikeness. If the West says that it cannot discover its nature in the East, and consequently the East is wholly unlike it, and the East, too, confesses that it cannot find its unlikeness in the West, and consequently the West is wholly like it, the inference, according to these tests, must necessarily be that there is defect either in the method of training, or in the form of development, or in the way of articulation as regards both the West and the East. That the West is West and the East is East, and they shall never meet is but a naive expression of the bias and prejudice of a most primitive character. It is impossible in the nature of actuality that one cannot find in some respects one's likeness and in some respects one's unlikeness in another. If one man excels the other in the strength of his muscles to withstand the attack of the lion, the other man may excel him in the strength of endurance of his organism to withstand the attack of the typhoid.

The absurdity of the absolute claim of unlikeness or of likeness may be exposed thus: to remain wholly unlike is to stand in the relation of the victim and the victimiser, which is to say, to be guilty of the tragedy of terrors, and to remain wholly like is to step into the shoes of one another, which is to say, to be guilty of the comedy of errors. From the position here taken up, it will follow that as, on the one hand, the felicity of complete likeness is self-hypnotism, so, on the other hand, the talk of total unlikeness is obstinate dogmatism.

In the proposed tests of progress to find one's likenesses in others is to ascertain how far and in how many ways the points of agreement may possibly be increased so as to widen the common ground of life and its various pursuits, how far one may possibly accommodate others without feeling inconvenience and apprehending danger, that is to say, how far mankind themselves, or even mankind and other species, may possibly be consistent with one another as regards the diverse methods of training, forms of development and ways of articulation.

To mark out and criticise one's unlikenesses in others is to ascertain the points in which one cannot possibly and reasonably be reconciled, and must, therefore, remain inconsistent with others so long as the ground of reconciliation in respect of those points is not somehow or other discovered.

And to mark out and appreciate one's unlikenesses in others is to ascertain how far mankind may earnestly endeavour to realise their possibilities not being inconsistent in relation to themselves, and even in relation to the rest of life and things.

Not to be mutually inconsistent is to be in the true sense individuals, one acting as complement to another. To remain mutually inconsistent is to pass as truly specific, territorial, national, communal or parochial, either to be shunned or attacked by one another. And to be mutually consistent is to appear as truly universals for the fulfilment of the common mission of life. Thus, according to the suggested tests, to progress is at once to individualise, specify and universalise the diverse methods of training, forms of development and ways of articulation, the last two processes being necessary auxiliaries to the first. But for further elucidation of this point one has to discuss the next question concerning the conditions of progress.

(*To be continued.*)

BENIMADHAB BARUA

DAPHNI'S DREAMING

Give to me your hand, Love,
    Gaze into mine eyes,
Send my dream-thoughts flying
    Thro' the azure skies.
Set thy tresses flowing
    O'er my breast and arms,
Drug me with thy fragrance,
    Bind me with thy charms.
Lip to lip caress me,
    In a sweet embrace,
Laugh and plunge together
    In passions' breathless race.
Languishing, enthralling,
    Love divine and whole!
Kiss and let the dreams free
    Flooding my great soul.
Hush! the tender music
    Of the nightingale,
Draws the dusk of evening
    Over hill and dale.
I would we were alone, Love,
    No one near to pry,
Only trees for neighbours,
    Quiet earth and sky.
We would live our dreams then
    Wafting souls above,
I—a King of Bacchus,
    Thou—a Queen of Love!
Weaving crowns of roses
    Seeking joy and mirth,

Leaving song-sweet echoes
    Round about the earth
But O! what use is dreaming?
    All is as before,
Only after death, Love,
    Shall dreams be dreams no more!

LELAND J. BERRY

POSSESSIONS

I have a heart and a soul,
I have a faith that is whole,
I have a love that is loyal and true
I have a trust and I pledge it to you.
I have a joy that will live,
I have a passion to strive,
I have a prayer that is pure, fresh, and sweet,
I have a smile that is eager to greet.
I have a path that is bright,
I have a share of delight,
I have all I could wish of dear God above
But O! 'twould be nothing without you My Love!

LELAND J. BERRY

MANIPULATION AND ANTIQUITY OF JĀTAKAS

The verses constituting the Jātaka proper, the story contained in them and narrated in prose was called 'Vatthu'[1] or 'Atthuppatti'[2] while its 'Vitthāra' or expansion was in the shape of either the identification of the past characters with the present ones[3] or an extra moral made suitable for the occasion.[4] The special denomination of the portion dealing with identification was 'samodhāna' which meant proper grasping or understanding in a particular light[5] being thus equivalant to the Sanskrit word 'Samavadhāraṇaṁ' from the root √dhā meaning 'to carry 'or 'to understand.'

The narrative part or the prose portion was again subject to variation not only under different or same titles in different schools (*cf.*, Nalini Jātaka in 'Mahāvastu' and in 'Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā') but also under the same title and in the same school.[6]

The original Jātaka book was thus an anthology of these Jātaka verses with stories remaining for the most part implicit and no titles to distinguish them ('Original Nature of Jātakas,' C. R., Jan. 1930).

The proposition which naturally presents itself in this connection, is whether the Jātakas as such might not be looked upon as pre-Buddhistic with occasional Buddhistic colourings given to the collection when forming a part of the Buddhist Canon.

The opinion in favour of assigning to the 'Jātakas' a purely Buddhistic origin seems to be based on the assumption that they originated some time after the compilation of the first four Nikāyas, *viz.*, the Digha, the Majjhima, the Saññutta and the Aṅguttara in which some of them are found only as moral stories without any reference to the Bodhisatta. Prof. Dr. Winternitz while discussing their origin in the 'Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,' Vol. VII, p. 491, writes: "It was thus only necessary to identify the hero of any character of a story with the Bodhisatta in order to turn any tale however secular or even frivolous into a Jātaka.". Then, as to its date he says 'some of the stories which were afterwards turned into Jātakas are told in the Suttas as simple tales without any reference to the Bodhisatta.' In other words, the conception of Jātakas is not only entirely Buddhistic but is even posterior to the Suttas or Suttantas of the first four Nikāyas which themselves form a collection to which a date is assigned much later than the Buddha himself. After their composition the Jātakas as a separate book were incorporated with the Khuddaka Nikāya in the Pali Canon.

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[1] (Dh. A, Vol. IV, p. 83,)

[2] (Dh. A, Vol. I, P. II, p. 285.)

[3] (Dh. A, Vol. II, p. 106.)

[4] (Dh. A, Vol. II, p. 156.)

[5] (Dh. A, Vol. IV, p. 89.)

[6] (Suva Jataka, note Dh. A, Vol. I, P. II, p. 285.)

This is a very important point in the whole question and all the more so because the word 'Jātaka' is conspicuously absent in the early Nikāyas referred to above in connection with all the stories which recur as Jātakas in the Jātaka book. The word Jātaka occurs once in the Aṅguttara Nikāya only in connection with the nine-fold divisions of the doctrine of the Master. (Rhys Davids' Buddhist-Birth stories.) But as a matter of fact, even the stories of Suttantas which are associated with the past lives of Gotama Buddha' are not called Jātakas though they retain all the characteristics of a 'Jātaka' in the generally accepted sense of the term. The argument raised is What was the reason of the compilers of Nikāyas for withholding the term 'Jātaka' if it was already adopted ? The reply generally given is, that with the introduction of Bodhisatta-ism every tale of the early Nikāyas or Vinaya, whether previously connected or unconnected with a past life of Gotama, came to be recognised as a past existence of the Buddha fulfilling the conditions of

Buddhahood under the special designation of a 'Jātaka,' which therefore emanating from the Suttanta literature marks the beginning of the Jātaka collections in the whole field of Buddhism. The notion, therefore, that a Jātaka is a previous birth story of only Gotama Buddha while passing as a Bodhisatta, is inevitably bound up with this assertion.

We have already dealt with the subject as elaborately as possible in the two previous articles entitled 'Bhārhut Jātakas in a New Light' and 'Original Nature of Jātakas,' pointing out in no uncertain terms that the Bodhisatta idea was in no way responsible for the origin of Jātakas. For clearness' sake we shall reiterate some of the general grounds on which such an assumption that the Jātakas are a post-Nikāya collection serving as illustrations of the Bodhisatta-Pāramitā theory, was found untenable.

Our reasons may be summed up as follows :—

(1) Mention is made of 'Jātakas' in the Vinaya (Sutta-Vibhaṅga, Part I, pp. 8-9) not only in connection with the doctrine (not life) of the Buddha Gotama but also with respect to the doctrine of each of the six previous Buddhas, *viz.*, Vipassi, Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Kanagamana and Kassapa, thereby definitely proving that the conception Jātakas did not certainly arise with the Bodhisatta of Gotama Buddha but with his doctrine.

(2) Except in the 'Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā' all the Jātaka stories are not necessarily associated with the previous lives of Gotama Buddha (*vide* all the Jātakas in classes A and B of the article 'Original Nature of Jātakas'). In this respect the Jātakas behave in the same way as Avadānas which consist of stories of the previous births not only of the Teacher but also of his disciples and of other Buddhas as well.

(3) One Jātaka might encompass more than one birth-story. As a matter of fact, the 'Sāketa Jātaka' No. 68 of Volume I, includes an account of as many as 1,500 (wrongly called 3,000) birth-stories on the basis of a single verse.

(4) Episodes of the same birth-story, on the other hand, may be found narrated under different Jātakas (*vide* Alambhusā Jātaka No. 523, Vol. V, and Nalini Jātaka, No. 526, Vol. V; also Gāmani Jātaka No. 8, Vol. I, and Samvara Jātaka No. 462, Vol. II). It is clearly expressed in the Gāmani Jātaka thus :

> "Imasmiṃ pana Jātake paccuppannavatthuñ ca atītavatthuñ ca ekādasanipāte Saṃvara Jātake āvibhavissati, vatthum hi tasmiñ ca imasmiñ ca ekasadisam eva, gāthā pana nānā."—F., Vol. I, p. 136.

It is thus clear that it was different verses and their groupings which formed different Jātakas dealing with particular episodes and not the different existences of the Bodhisatta.

(5) Jātakas are still traceable in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā with designations after the verses as Apaṇṇaka Jātaka No. 1; Maṅgala Jātaka No. 87; Giridanta Jātaka No. 184; Kimpaka Jātaka No. 85; Dhamma Jātaka No. 57 ; Kāma Jātaka No. 467; etc. bearing less on the main topic.

(6) The idea of 'Bodhisatta' is divergent not only in the Jātakas of different schools but in the same Jātaka of different versions. Thus in the Mahāvastu and in Sanskrit Avadāna, the horned sage 'Isisiṃgiya,' who falls a victim to passion, is the hero and the Bodhisatta; whereas in the Pāli Jātaka collection, his father at whose admonition he successfully wards off the evil, is the Bodhisatta (*vide* 'Nalini Jātaka' in Mahāvastu and in Fausboll's Jātaka collection). This no doubt proves that the authors have been very free, nay frivolous, in their application of the term Bodhisatta on to the old Jātaka stories which must have been free from it.

(7) The same episode of a particular birth-story finds expression in different Jātakas which are differentiated as Mahā (big) or Culla (short) according to the kind of verse used. Thus 'Mahāsuka Jātaka' No. 429 and Cullasuka Jātaka No. 430 are but the same story represented in bigger and smaller verses respectively.

These are the grounds which prove most strongly that the Jātakas were originally verses and are sufficient to counteract any inclination which may be still lingering in favour of ascribing to them at the time of their formation, a motive for depicting the Bodhisatta in different births.

Decidedly, the Suttas of the Nikāyas are not the exponents of the Bodhisatta theory which, as we have already pointed out, was incapable of standing without the twenty-four predecessors of Gotama Buddha unknown to them. Hence, there is still some possibility of the Jātakas in their non-Bodhisatta forms to have emanated from these Suttas. To determine their exact positions we shall immediately set ourselves to the discussion of the matter. A clear instance of a Suttanta founded upon a Jātaka story in so far as it is related in verse will, it is hoped, solve our problem.

Fortunately for us, the story of the Brahmin Jotipāla is found in four different works of no little importance, *viz.*, in the Aṅguttara Nikāya, in the Mahā Govinda Suttanta of the Digha Nikāya, in the Sārabhaṅga Jātaka of Jātaka collection and in the Cariyapiṭaka.

It is conceded that the Aṅguttara Nikāya in presenting the story of Jotipāla along with six other sages of similar nature in a very general way without identifying them with the Buddha, has preserved the story in a form which, if not the earliest, is much earlier than the Mahā Govinda Suttanta which identifies the sage Jotipāla with the Buddha and which must therefore be looked upon as the later development of the former.

The passage in the Aṅguttara runs thus :—

"Sunetto Mugapakko ca Aranemi ca brāhmaṇo
Kuddālako ahu satthā Hatthipālo ca māṇavo
Jotipālo ca Govindo ahu satta purohito.
Ahiṃsakā atītaṃse cha satthāro yasassino
nirāmagandhā karune vimuttā kāmasaññojanātigā
Kāmarāgaṃ virājetvā brahmalokupagā ahu
Ahesuṃ sāvakā tesaṃ anekānī satāni pi
nirāmagandhā karuṇe vimuttā kāmasaññojanātigā
Kāmarāgaṃ virājetvā brahmalokupagā ahu

—(Aṅguttara N., Part III, P.T.S.P., p. 373.)

To all intents and purposes the above statement is far from representing the full story of how each sage especially in this case, the sage Jotipāla, happened to be in possession of sensual enjoyments of which sufficient hint is given and then renounced them giving himself up to the meditation of kindly thoughts attaining after death the Brahma-heaven.

The Jātaka, on the other hand, gives in detail the story of Jotipāla as a very successful royal archer with the title of Sarabhaṅga in full enjoyment of earthly pleasures which he renounced afterwards for the life of a hermit and has shown further, how by cultivating thoughts of compassion he became a well-known teacher of mankind showing the path to Brahmaloka to many thousand disciples who gathered round him. The Jātaka collection also contains stories of the six other teachers in more or less detailed forms.

Now, taking into consideration the fact that the details of the Jātaka story contain much that is non-Buddhistic scrupulously avoided in the Nikāya, it may be safely asserted that on these details the general observation of the Aṅguttara was formed later on.

Thus speaks the teacher Jotipāla in the Jātaka, in reply to a question of Indra anxious to learn the attributes of a truly wise man who after death passes on to Brahmaloka :

" Sevetha vaddhe nipune bahussute
    Uggāhako vā paripucchako siyā
Sunneyya sakkacca subhāsitāni
    evaṃkaro paññavā hoti macco
Sa paññavā kāmaguṃe avekkhati
    anlccato dukkhato rogato ca
evaṃvipassi pajahāti chandaṃ
    dukkhesu kāmesu mahabbhayesu
Sa vitarāgo pavineyya dosaṃ
    mettaṃ cittaṃ bhāvaye appamānaṃ
Sabbesu bhutesu nidhāya daṇddaṃ
    anindito Brahmaṃ upeti thānan ti.[1]

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[1] *Cf.* Mahāvastu has—'स्वर्गमुपेति स्थानं' instead, III, p. 873

The Buddhist doctrine of ' anattaṃ ' and ' nibbānaṃ ' is absent in the reply which thus embodies the pre-Buddhistic notion of religion which at its best shows the way to the attainment of Brahmaloka only, falling far short of the ideal of ' Nibbāna.' The Jātaka then comes to a close without even stating in verse that the sage actually realised the Brahma-heaven after death. The Aṅguttara in summing up the details of all the stories with the observation that all of the seven ' purohitas ' attained Brahmaloka after death ' Brahmalokūpagā ahu ' must therefore be recognised as the record of a later date. Moreover in overlooking the lay period of their lives found stressed in the Jātakas, the Aṅguttara Nikāya further confirms our view that the vulgar element of the Jātakas was shunned as much as possible in the Nikāya literature, perhaps due to the Teacher abstaining from it himself.

" ———iti vā iti evarūpāya tiracchāna-kathāya paṭivirato Samaṇo Gotamo ti."——Digha Nikaya, Vol. I, p. 8 ; and for ' tiracchānakathā, *vide* ' Brahmajālasutta ' of the Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. I, pp. 7-8.

With reference to the moral of the stories intended by the author pointing out the retribution of those who injured the sages ' isis,' the Aṅguttara observes the following :

> " Ye te isi bāhirake vītarāge samāhite
> paduṭṭhamanasaṅkappo yo naro paribhāsati
> bahuñ ca so pasavati apuññaṃ tādiso naro
> Yo c'ekam diṭṭhisampannaṃ bhikkhuṃ Buddhassa sāvakaṃ
> paduṭṭhamanasaṅkappo yo naro paribhāsati
> ayaṃ tato bahutaraṃ apuññam pasave naro."
> —Aṅguttara N., Part III, pp. 372-73.

The above statement though very brief is not free from the stamp of Buddhism wherein the disciples, not to speak of the Teacher, are spoken of as enjoying a position better than these sages of old. For, one injuring a follower of the Buddha commits a sin of a greater magnitude than another injuring the teachers of 'Brahmaloka.'[1] The details of punishment meted out to those who harmed a disciple of the sage Jotipāla and other sages of old, are given in the Jātaka as follows :

" Yathā ahū Daṇḍakī Nalikiro
atth' Ajjuno kalābu cā pi rājā
tesaṃ gatiṃ bruhi supāpakamminaṃ
katth' upapannā isinaṃ viheṭhakā ti
Kisam pi Vaccham avakiriya Daṇḍakī
ucchinnamūlo sajano saraṭṭho
Kukkulanāme nirayamhi paccati
tassa pulliṅgāni patanti kāye

Yo saññate pabbajite avañcasi
dhammaṃ bhanante samaṇe adusake
taṃ Nālikiraṃ sunakhā parattha
samgamma khādanti vipphandamānaṃ
Ath' Ajjuno niraye sattisūle
avaṃsiro patito uddhapādo
Aṅgīrasaṃ Gotamaṃ heṭhayitvā
khantiṃ tapassiṃ cirabrahmacāriṃ."

—Jātaka No. 522, Vol. V, pp. 143-44.

The non-Buddhistic names in the above Jātaka have been very sedulously kept back in the very general observation of the Aṅguttara which must have had, therefore, the Jātaka as its basis and so there cannot be the slightest doubt as to which was the predecessor of the other.

It has already been remarked that the 'Mahā Govinda Suttam' identifying the Teacher Jotipāla under the title of Mahā Govinda with the Buddha in a previous birth, is posterior to the Aṅguttara story which is itself based on the Jātaka. The Jātaka story, therefore, must be still more anterior to the Mahā Govinda Suttaṃ and this is precisely borne out by an analysis of the two. As a matter of fact, the 'Suttanta' is a further development of the Jātaka story and is practically an improvement upon the older tale both as to its ideal and the status of the Brahmin Jotipāla.

The archer Jotipāla of the Jātāka becomes a 'purohita' in the Aṅguttara and in the Suttanta ; he is a 'purohita' not only of one king but of six other kings as well.

"Atha kho Mahā Govinda Brahmano (Jotipālo) satta ca rājāno khattiye muddhāvasitte rajje anusāsi."

In addition, he also teaches seven big Brahmin families and seven hundred Brahmin disciples.

"Satta ca brāhmaṇa mahāsāle satta ca nahātakasatāni mante vācesi."

This is no inconsiderable part of his character and is certainly an improvement upon the Jātaka tale.

As to the main topic, our Suttanta takes up the thread exactly where it ends in the Jātaka with the express purpose of inculcating not only that the meditation and diffusion of 'mettā bhāvanā' (friendly thoughts) adding three others; *viz.*, mudita, karuṇā and upekhā, lead to the attainment of Brahmā heaven after death, but that the actual realisation of this state is possible in this very life without much difficulty, noting in conclusion that such realisation is, after all, far below the standard of Nībbāna.

"Yo vassike cattāro māse patisallīyati karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyati, so Brahmānaṃ passati Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati manteti ti."

In conclusion the Suttanta says,

"Sarām ahaṃ Pañcasikha ahaṃ tena samayena Mahā Govindo brahmaṇo ahosiṃ. Ahaṃ tesam sāvakānaṃ Brahmaloka sahavyatāya maggaṃ desesiṃ. Tam kho pana Pañcasikha brahmacarīyāṃ na nibbidāya na virāgāya na nirodhāya na upasamāya na abhiññāya na sambodhāya na nibbānāya saṃvattati yāva Brahmalokūpapattiyā."

The special object of having a separate Jotipāla story in the Mahā Govinda Suttam seems to be to give a clear definition or rather an exposition of the negative side of this attainment of Brahmaloka, featuring the aspect in a true Buddhistic spirit, wherein lies the main struggle. The Jātaka' stresses the positive side whereas our Suttanta, perfectly aware of it, dilates upon the negative side absent in the Jātaka. The Suttanta speaks with certainty that it fully understands what is implied by abandonment of egoism (hitvā mamattaṃ), feeling oneness in solitude (meditation?) 'ekodhibhutaṃ,' and cultivation of friendly thoughts "karuṇādhimuttaṃ," but it does not precisely understand what is signified by carnality to be got rid of ('anirā magandhā,') an explanation of which next forms the chief subject matter of the text:

"Ke āmagandhā manujesu Brahme
Ete avidvā idha brūhi dhīra
Ken' āvuṭā vāti pajā kuruṭṭharū
Āpāyikā nivuta-brahmalokā ti
Kodho mosa-vajjam nikati ca dobho
Kadariyatā atimāno usuyyā
Icchā vicikicchā paraheṭhanā ca
Lobho ca doso ca mado ca moho
Etesu yuttā anirāmagandhā
Āpāyikā-nivutā Brahmalokā ti."

These were undoubtedly the later development of the concluding verses of the Jātaka having at the end:

"Sabbesu bhutesu nidhāya daṇḍam
Anindīto Brahmam upeti thānan ti"

and prove with the utmost certainty that the Jātaka proper or the verses being of pre-Nikāya times served as the basis of the Suttanta Stories.

The story of Mahā Govinda in the 'Cariya Piṭaka' dwells on a particular aspect of the Suttanta story referring in only three stanzas to the huge amount of sacrifice the Brahmin made in the cause of the attainment of Bodhi. The relevant gathas are:

"Punāparam yadā homi sattarāja purohito
Pujito naradevehi Mahāgovindo brāhmaṇo
Yadāhaṃ Sattarajjesu yaṃ me āsi upāyanaṃ
Tena demi mahādānaṃ akkhobbhaṃ sāgarūpamaṃ
Na me dessaṃ dhanadhaññaṃ pi n'atthi niccayo mayi
Sabbaññutaṃ piyaṃ mayhaṃ tasmā demi varaṃ dhanaṃ."

The Cariya Piṭaka thus proves among others, that while the author was depending on the Jātaka for his knowledge of the affluent condition of Mahā Govinda, he was actually looking forward to the Suttanta for his creation of the Bodhisatta ideal. The 'Cariya piṭaka' has more of the Suttanta than of the Jātaka story and is acknowledged to be a post-Nikāya work.

Similarly, it may be shown that other Suttas, or Suttantas, such as Maṅgala Sutta, Karanīyametta Sutta, Mulapariyāya Sutta, Mahā-apadāna Suttanta, Mahā Samaya Suttānta, Pāyāsi Suttanta, Agañña Suttanta, etc., have their counterparts in the Jātakas which preceded them in every case.

It may now be pertinently asked what is then the signification of the 'Suttanta Jātakas'?

According to 'Culla Niddesa' the four Suttantas which were regarded as 'Jātakas' were (1) Mahā Apadāna Sutta, (2) Mahā Sudassana Sutta, (3) Mahā Govinda Sutta, and (4) Makhādeva Sutta. Now, each of these Suttantas has a 'Paccuppanna-vatthu,' an Atītavatthu and Gāthās; and except in the first, the Samodhāna occurs in the last three, *i.e.*, the identification of the hero with the Buddha in a previous birth. If, we now accept the legendary portion or the prose narration of the gāthās, as the story of the Jātaka it will be evident that in the case of Mahāpadāna Sutta, the real Jātaka story is that of Buddha Vipassi exclusively dealt with in the Sutta which is in fact, more of the type of an Apadāna than of a Jātaka in the generally accepted sense of the terms. By calling it first an Apadāna and then a Jātaka having no identification, the author of the Niddesa certainly meant, if anything, that the term Apadāna when applied to Buddhas was originally a more refined equivalent of and preferable to 'Jātaka' which occupied its place later on. We can now logically reduce Mahā-Apadāna-Suttanta into Mahā-Jātaka-Suttanta, meaning thereby the Jātaka transformed into the Suttanta which, if allowed, will clear up all misunderstanding about the origin of Jātakas wrongly believed to have emanated from the Suttantas.

Unfortunately this cannot be said with regard to the 'Mahā Sudassana Jātaka' which is, thanks to the sincerity of the Jātaka compiler, evidently based upon the Mahā Sudassana Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya as it is clearly acknowledged in the Paccuppanna Vatthu :

> "Satthā...........atitam āharanto Mahāsudassana Suttam kathesi."
> —(M. Sudassana Jātaka No. 95, Vol. I, p. 392.)

But, as it is not done in the other cases, this Jātaka must be an exception which only proves the rule. The relevant Jātaka seems to have been lost under the title of 'Sunetta' indicated by the passage quoted from the Aṅguttara Nikāya (Sunetto Mugapakkho ca, etc.). The Jātakas of the other sages are all traceable in the Jātaka collection as follows :—The Mugapakka Jātaka is No. 538, Vol. V, the 'Araka' for Aranemi is No. 169, Vol. II, the 'Kuddāla' J. is No. 70, Vol. I, the Hatthipāla J. is No. 509, Vol. IV, and the Jātaka of Govinda as the father of Jotipāla is perhaps incorporated with the Jātaka story of 'Jotipāla himself in Sarabhaṅga Jātaka. The account of all these sages given in their respective 'Jātakas' fully agree on the virtues attributed to them in the Aṅguttara.

So far we have seen that the stories in the Nikāyas when associated with a past life of the Buddha or with the life of any past Buddha underwent tremendous modification from their earlier Jātaka forms. We shall now point out that such was not the case with regard to the stories which remained as moral stories only, having no identification, in which case the 'Jātakas' are represented more or less in their original forms having in some cases the verses intact and without any modification. A few belonging to this type may be cited below :

(1) Apaṇṇaka Jātaka is Jātaka No. 1, F., Vol. I, pp. 95-106 ; it also occurs in the Payāsi Suttanta of the Digha Nikāya, Vol. II, pp. 342-346 P.T.S.

(2) Litta Jātaka is No. 91 in F., Vol. I, pp. 379, and also occurs in the Pāyāsi Suttanta of the Digha Nikāya.

(3) Dighiti Kosala Jātaka is No. 371 in F., Vol. III, pp. 211-213. It also occurs in the Vinaya Mahāvagga, pp. 342-349 (Oldenberg's edition).

(4) Tittira Jātaka is No. 37 in F., Vol. I, pp. 217-220. It also occurs in Vinaya Cullavagga, pp. 161-162 (Oldenberg's edition).

(5) Sakuṇaggi Jātaka is No. 168 in F., Vol. II, pp. 58-60, and occurs in Samyutta Nikāya, Vol. V, pp. 146-148, P.T.S.

The verse Jātakas of 'Litta' and 'Tittira' have been found intact in the Digha Nikāya and Vinaya Cullavagga respectively.

Other Jātaka tales, some with verses, occur in their original forms in the Vinaya and the Nikāyas (*vide* Buddhist Parables translated from the original Pāli by Mr. Burlingame of Yale University) but the question arises as to what should be the designation of this type of composition having gathās with stories behind them. The answer is simple for, if we have successfully traced the growth of certain portions of Suttanta literature from these Jātakas it is quite possible that some of them would at least be found in their original forms in the Nikāya or the Vinaya literature and must be regarded as Jātaka proper. This is not all. The other view-point that these stories including the verses found in the Vinaya and in the Nikāyas, became Jātakas in a Buddhist sense later on, must be finally got rid of.

The 'Litta Jātaka' consisting of the following verse found in the Digha Nikāya :

Littaṃ paramena tejasā
  gilam akkhaṃ puriso no bujjhati
Gila re gila pāpadhuttaka
  pacchā te kaṭukaṃ bhavissatī ti

is definitely anti-Buddhistic, nay is subversive of all principles of true religion. A gambler to avenge the loss sustained by him through the trick of his rival, secretly smears the latter's dice with a deadly poison and while at play watches him to swallow it in a practice wherein lay the trick. The moment it is swallowed the cheat succumbs and the verse is uttered as a warning to others. The act of the poison-giver is also extolled. But, in the name of humanity we ask, who commits a graver crime, the deceitful gambler or his secret assailant ? The hollowness of the Bodhisatta idea in Jātakas nowhere becomes so manifested as in this case when we learn from later Jātakas that the bigger criminal was the Bodhisatta! However, the Nikāya version having no Bodhisatta, says nothing of the kind. But, what we assert and say most emphatically is this, that the verse with the story was already a Jātaka or it was absolutely impossible for such verses as there are many of this kind, to have been incorporated with the Jātaka-collection, if these Jātakas were ever made with a Buddhistic end after the ideals were preached in the Nikāyas. The Nikāyas can never be the harbinger of the original Jātaka stories.

The difficulty in assigning a proper date to the Jātakas certainly arose out of a general tendency to mix up the prose of the Aṭṭhakathā with the verse; and owing to the prose of the Aṭṭhakathā being found to be much later than the prose of the Vinaya and of the Nikāyas (backed by the supposition that the Bodhisatta idea was responsible for the origin of Jātakas) it was almost universally accepted that the Jātakas were at least a collection of a later date though they might not have come from the Nikāya stories. This opinion, of course, does no longer hold good.

Accounts of different schools agree on the point that even before the Theravādins divided the cannon into three 'Pitakas' there existed in the parent school, as early as the time of the First Council, the entire 'Buddhavacana' as one work with nine different types of composition of which 'Jātaka' was one. The following occurs in the account of the First Council given in the Dīpavaṃsa :

> " Sattapaṇṇaguhe ramme therā pañcasatā ganī
> nisinnā pavibhajjiṃsu navaṅgaṃ Satthusāsanaṃ
> Suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇaṃ gāthudānātivuttakaṃ
> jātakabbhutavedallaṃ navaṅgaṃ Satthusāsanaṃ.

The account of the Mahāyānists contains in addition to these nine types, *viz.*, sutta, geyya, veyyākarṇa, gāthā, udāna, itivuttaka, Jātaka, abbhuta, vedalla, three more, *viz.*, Avadāna, Nidāna and Upadesa.*

These types of composition were the characteristics of the whole work known as the 'Agamapiṭaka.'

(Āgamapiṭakaṃ nāma akamsu suttasammatam—Dīpavaṃsa, Chapter IV.)

in which instead of being denominated individually according to their classification they were all understood by implication only. Later on, they were bodily taken over and rearranged in the Nikāyas in which it was hardly felt necessary that each type should be separately labelled according to the class it fell under. The reason why the 'veyyakaranaṃ' or the 'geyyam' was not called such in the body of the works, holds equally good in the case of why the Jātakas were not recognised as such in them. Therefore it is no argument to say that because the moral stories with their verses are not called 'Jātakas' in the Nikāyas the word was absolutely unknown to or unrecognised by their authors.

Many 'Jātakas' occur in the Mahāvastu, a major part of which is as old as the Pāli Nikāyas [1] both in prose and in verse in mixed Sanskrit' and while some of them are variants of the Pāli-Jātakas others are not found in the Pāli collection and thus prove without doubt that they existed as early as the original collection out of which both the versions arose.

We also learn from 'Mahāvastu' that even the verse Jātakas were not unchangeable rigid bodies. Both the Çarabhaṅga Jātaka and the Mahā Govinda Suttānta occur in it but, while the

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[1] Nariman's History of Sanskrit Buddhism: "It (Mahāvastu) is of the greatest importance because it preserves for us many ancient traditions and old versions of texts which also occur in the Pāli canon."—Nariman's 'History of Sanskrit Buddhism.'

"The core of the Mahāvāstu is old and probably was composed already two centuries before Christ although it has been expanded in the 4th century after Christ and perhaps even at a later period."—Nariman's 'Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism.'

Suttanta agrees almost *verbatim* with the Pāli version, the Jātaka with one or two more antique words differs in such a way that at a first glance it appears to be a new story altogether. Whether '**यज्ञदत्तः**' for Jotipāla or '**स्वर्गमुपेति स्थानं**' for "Brahmam upeti ṭhāṇaṃ' were substituted in the Mahāvastu for presenting the Jātaka as a birth-story of the Teacher different from that of Mahā Govinda found side by side or whether they were the original statements of non-Buddhistic stories which were modified in the Pāli version, we cannot definitely say. At any rate, the notion of a Jātaka in the 'Mahāvastu' of the Lokottaravādin's which paved the way for Mahāyānists was not the same as in the Jātaka-collections of the Theravādins.

It seems very probable, that in Pāli, even as late as the time of Buddhaghosa about the earlier part of the 5th century A.D., the idea of the Bodhisatta's birth-stories was not applied to the Jātaka-collection as a whole, for if so done, it would surely have been referred to by him in his annotation of the term 'Jātaka' in 'Samanta Pāsādikā' a commentary on the Vinaya, in the introduction of which he simply observes :

"Apaṇṇakajātakādini pannāsādhikāni pañcaśātakasatāni Jātakam ti veditabbam."

The Jātaka verses beginning with "Apaṇṇaka," etc., which number five hundred and fifty are to be recognised as Jātakas.

Had the whole Jātaka collection been then regarded as the birth-stories of the Teacher, surely the fact would not have gone by default. Certainly, the Jātakas then existed as a collection of verses grouped according to their number coming under different birth-stories or simply episodes.

The 'Mahāvastu,' on the other hand, seems to interpret the word 'Jātaka' in a light, quite in keeping with the high spiritual ideas generally attributed to a 'Bhagavan' who knows the past, present and the future of all beings. In explanation of the term it has the following :

"**धुतधमधर जातकानि जिनभाषितानि इमां अष्टमां भूमीं प्रपद्यन्तीति**"

etc. (M. V., Vol. I, p. 105, Ed. by Senart).

Oh observer of the Dhutaṅgas, the Jātakas as spoken by the conqueror all relate to the eighth stage of spirituality being that of omniscience to be attained only by the Buddhas.

A knowledge of ‘ Jātakas ’ cannot be obtained without this attainment of omniscience which belongs only to the Buddhas or Bodhisattas.

In the Bhāgavatgītā Bhagavān Srikrishna speaks in the same strain to Arjuna :

बहूनि मे व्यतीतानि जन्मानि तव चार्ज्जुन।
तान्यहं वेद सर्व्वाणि न त्वं वेत्थ परन्तप॥ (4th Chap. No. 5.)

“ Oh Parantapa, many have been the lives lived by you and
me in the past :
I know them all, but you do not.”

Therefore, it does not follow that the Jātakas which are evidently taken in the sense of ‘ जन्म’ or birth-stories in the Mahāvastu are necessarily the anterior births of the Buddha, *i.e.*, their narrator. As a matter of fact, Uruvelakāçyapādikāçyapānaṃ Jātaka, Āñākondiṇṇa Jātaka and Yaçoda Jātaka, as found in the work, have no reference whatsoever to any previous birth of the Teacher, though as stories of the past of his disciples they are all called ‘ Jātakas being put into his mouth. (Part III, pp. 434, 394 and 415 respectively.) The other Jātakas of which more than 50 per cent. are variants of Pali, terminate with the note put into the mouth of the Buddha, that in each case the hero was the Buddha in a previous birth and not any other person however different the appellation might be :

“ स्यात् खलु पुनः भिक्षवो युष्माकमेवं अन्यो सो तेन कालेन तेन समयेन … … … नाम अभूषि। न खल्वेवं द्रष्टव्यं। तत्कस्य हेतोः। अहं सो भिक्षवस्तेन कालेन तेन समयेन … … नाम अभूषि।”

This note is in agreement with the same observed at the end of the Jātaka Suttantas found in the Pāli Nikāyas having the following :

“ Siyā kho pana te Ānanda evaṃ assa “Añño nūna tena samayena rājā * * * ahosīti. Na kho pana Ānanda evaṃ daṭṭhabbaṃ. Ahaṃ tena samayena rājā * * ahosī ti.”

The above notes in conjunction with the general observation made in the Nikāyas that in all his previous existences the Blessed One was a sage ("yāva digharattaṃ paññavā so Bhagavā") naturally lead one to believe that, in the absence of the Bodhisatta-Pāramitā theory, the notion of the Jātakas attributed to the Buddha at their earliest stage, arose out of the incarnation theory of Bhagavatism. Even in the Mahāvastu, only such 'Jātakas' as contain very high morals, have been recognised as Jātakas of the Buddha or Bhagavā.[1]

The 'Saddharma-puṇḍarika' a work belonging to the Mahāyāna School though much later, observes as follows:

> "The Buddha knowing the differences in faculties and energy of his numerous hearers, preaches in many different ways, tells many tales, amusing, agreeable, both instructive and pleasant, tales by means of which all beings become not only pleased with the law in this present life, but also will reach happy states after death."

It also says,

> "The Buddha teaches both sutras and stanzas and by legends and Jātakas."

The labels of Bhārhut Jātakas prove by their titles, as we have already shown, that they were stories or fables under verses with special Buddhistic morals acknowledging the Buddha in a Bhagavatic sense.[2]

The following observation of R. Otto Franke in W.Z.K.M., XX (1006), 318, will further point to the pre-Buddhistic origin of Jātakas: "The bulk of Jātaka-gāthās is the work of many chiefly non-Buddhist authors, though one editor or compiler (not author) may, in recasting the whole, have altered and even added verses here and there."

"The spirit of the Purāṇas is also breathed by the Jātaka"—Nariman's History of Sanskrit Buddhism, 'Note on Mahavastu,' p. 16.

"In this section (1. 163 ff.) has been interpolated (?) a Buddhānusmriti that is a hymn to the Buddha who in no way is here different from Vishnu or Shiva in the 'stotras' of the Purāṇas."—*Ibid*, 'Note on Mahāvastu.'

"Bodhisatta is not generated by father and mother but springs directly from his own properties."—*Ibid*, p. 17. 'Note on Mahāvastu.'

[2] "It is on this phase of belief that the Indian doctrine of incarnation seems to have been based, the doctrine which is characteristically Bhagavatic. And it is precisely in this Bhagavatic sense that the expression 'Ukranti' seems to have been used in the Barhut label and the Jataka texts quoted above from the Buddhist literature."

—Barua and Sinha, "Barhut Inscriptions," p. 53.

In fact, whatever might have been their shape afterwards the verse-Jātakās can be traced back to the time of the very Buddha if not earlier still.

With his mighty genius the great Teacher of mankind adopted many current terms of his day, but when using them changed their ordinary mode of application into a special one suiting the new standpoint of his Ārya Sanātana Dharma.[1] The verses of the Jātaka types undoubtedly existed before his time as also the word 'Jātaka' though we cannot definitely say in what sense it was used ; but, there cannot be the slightest hesitation in asserting that, either due to the efforts of the Buddha or to his immediate disciples the term 'Jātaka' came to mean not only moral stories but stories of the past told in illustration of the Doctrine of Karma as applied to its particular recipients. Sooner or later they came to be associated with him first in a Bhagavatic sense with considerable modifications in the Pāli Suttantas and only in selected Jātakas in the Mahāvastu. The representation of the great Teacher in special Jātakas went on being also copied by other schools till after Buddhaghosa, about the end of the 5th century A.D., the whole of the Jātaka collection forming a separate book of the Khuddaka Nikāya and dating sometime after the compilation of the first four Nikāyas, was recognised as a work containing only the birth-stories of the Bodhisatta. Thus, we can say that the prose stories of the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā compiled about the latter part of the 5th century A.D., and looked upon as expansions or 'vitthāras' of Jātaka verses, many of which as old as the time of the Buddha, some even still older, are really a compendium of facts with dates ranging from the time of their origin up to that of their final redaction, *i.e.*, from pre-Buddhistic times down to the 5th century A.D., while we maintain, that except in very rare cases, the claim to pre-Nikāya antiquity of the verses constituting the real Jātakas, must be generally accepted.

Lastly, the scene of 'Tikoṭika Cakama' which occurs among the Jātaka-sculptures of Bhārhut and has been traced by us in the Bhāgavat-Purāṇa in a previous article (C. R., June, 1929) but not in any of the Buddhist-Sanskrit or Pāli works discovered so far, proves almost accurately that the verses called 'Jātakas' must have belonged to a very ancient parent stock of literature called 'Akkhānas,' probably in a kind of Prākrit allied to Pāli from which Purāṇas and Buddhist literature have developed alike.

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[1] *Cf.* 'Uposatha,' 'Pātimokkha,' 'Bhikkhu,' 'Brāhmaṇa,' 'Suttaṃ,' 'Tapa,' etc.

The growth of Jātaka literature may be shown in a tabular form as follows :—

(Pre-Buddhistic times.)
Akkhānas as popular folklores and ballads in Prākrit.

(Time of the Buddha and the 1st Council.)
Jātakas as popular folklores and ballads illustrating the Doctrine of Karma incorporated with Āgama Piṭaka.

Pāli Buddhism
(Second Council)
Suttanta Jātakas and Jātakas as moral stories incorporated with the Dhamma Vinaya.

3rd century B.C.
(Third Council.)
Jātaka-collection as a separate book of verses included in the Khuddaka Nikāya.
Special Jātakas as 'Cariya Piṭaka.'

(1st century A.D.)
Bodhisatta *vs.* Devadatta stories from Jātakas and Jātakas as moral verses found in the Milinda.

(5th century A.D.)
Jātaka verses as (1) Bodhisatta birth-stories; (2) Birth-stories of others; (3) Moral verses; found in the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā.

Sanskrit Buddhism
(Council of Mahāsamghikas.)
Special Jātakas as Buddha's birth-stories and ordinary Jātakas as birth-stories of disciples in the 'Mahāvastu.'

(1st century B. C. as Council of Kaniska.)
Jātakas in Avadāna Çataka and Sūtrālankāra.

(4th century A.D.)
Jātakamālā and Avadāna-Kalpalatā.

(End of 5th century A.D.)
Jātakas of the Jātaka Book exclusively as birth-stories of the Bodhisatta in Jātaka-Aṭṭhakāthā.

GOKULDAS DE

BANKERS' BANK FOR INDIA

The main object of creating a Central Reserve Bank for India should be, to bring the management of currency which is now in the hands of the Government and the credit in the hands of the Imperial Bank under common control in the interests of the Nation. For this purpose the Bank should be entrusted with sole right of Note Issue besides acting as Bankers' bank, custodian of public funds and the Government cash balances of the Central and the Provincial Governments. The bank by acquiring the right to issue notes, the banking Reserves will be centralised and it may increase naturally the prosperity of the nation by advancing cheap credits to the national industry of the country, *i.e.*, agriculture as and when necessary. The agricultural indebtedness in India is about 800 crores of rupees of which half of the amount is interest and other accruing charges payable by the borrower principally to the Sowkars. As the present existing form of banking is not suitable to function the work of a Central Bank, *i.e.*, advancing cheap credits to agriculture and other national industries, the need for a Central Bank has become necessary. The Central Bank by its operation should repose confidence by its absolute impartiality and by its ability to view the economic position of the country from the national stand-point. The Central Bank should be an independent body without being affected by parties in power and it may commence its business with a share capital of 5 crores of rupees divided into shares of Rs. 100 (One hundred each). It would be advantageous to have the Central Office of Bank at Delhi and independent branches at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi and Rangoon. Proportionate share capital should be allotted to the branches and separate share registers maintained at each of the branches which are the headquarters of the districts in which they are situated. Shares should be allotted only to individuals not exceeding 200 shares. Transfers of these shares from one Register to another should be effected when a share-holder permanently changes his residence. These shares should pass through the Central Office at Delhi where register for this purpose should be maintained.

The management of this great institution should be entrusted to a body called 'Court of Directors of the Central Reserved Bank of India.' The Court of Directors should be empowered to do all acts and things as may be exercised by the Government. Though the branches are supposed to work independently, yet the general supervision and control should be vested in the Court of Directors.

There should be local boards for each of the branches and they should work with the sole object of fostering the local business of the districts and improving particularly the agricultural Industry and Commerce of the Districts. They should advance cheap money to the desirable applicants and encourage the promotion of indigenous banking and bankers and at the same time assist to the fullest extent the existing banking institution in the districts so that the want to have banking cheque and investment habit can be easily improved.

The Court of Directors consisting of 16 members should be elected as under :—

One director from the Associated Chambers of Commerce.

One director, from the Indian Federated Chambers of Commerce.

Two directors, one Indian and one European from the Bombay Register.

Two directors, 1 Indian and 1 European from the Calcutta Register.

Two directors, 1 Indian and 1 European from the Madras Register.

Two directors, 1 Indian and 1 European from the Delhi Register.

Two directors, 1 Indian and 1 European from the Rangoon Register.

Two Indian directors to watch the interests of the Indian community, from the Legislative Assembly.

Finance member of the Government of India and also the Commerce member will be *ex-officio* directors but will not be eligible for the Presidentship or the Deputy Presidentship to the Court of Directors.

The President (Indian) should be selected from the above list and he should be assisted by two Deputy Presidents—1 Indian and 1 European selected from the same list. The Chief Officer of the Bank Managing Governor will attend all the meetings that are held at Delhi and he will have no voting power.

There should be an Advisory body consisting of three Indian economists of International fame to advise the Court of Directors on matters affecting Indian finance. They should act only in the advisory capacity and should have no power to vote on any proposition. They should be paid by the Central Office. Similar to the Court of Directors attached to the Central Board local branches should have local committees consisting of 10 members as under :—

2 members from the European Chamber of Commerce.
2 members from the Indian Chamber of Commerce.
1 member from the Legislative Council to watch the Indian community interest.
1 member to watch the Government interest (European).
4 members from the Share-holders list (2 Indians and 2 Europeans).

The Government member may be the Finance Member or the Commerce Member and they are not eligible to the Chairmanship or the Deputy Chairmanship of the local boards. The Chairman and the Deputy Chairman should be selected out of the remaining 9 members. Either the Chairman or the Deputy Chairman should be an Indian. The local boards of the branches should hold meetings once in a week and submit the proceedings of the meeting to the Court of Directors for their information. Important matters of the Local boards should be placed before the Court of Directors for their approval and sanction.

The Court of Directors should meet once in a month, at least, to discuss and pass important matters. They should be paid a monthly allowance of Rs. 500 each and also First Class fare to and from the Central Office.

The local body members should be paid Rs. 75 all-told for each weekly meeting attended.

The President of the Court of Directors should have full power to dispose of all matters. He should refer to the Government only important cases affecting Indian finance for their information.

The qualification of the Court of Directors and the members of the Local boards should be that they should have at least 15 years of active business experience and they should not hold any office in any Banking Institution.

The Managing Governor (European) should have at least 15 years' Banking experience in the superior capacity before accepting this post and he should be given 2 Deputy Governors, one Indian and one European. Both the Managing Governor and the Deputy Governors should be appointed by the Government in the first instance for a period of 3 years subject to a renewal of a further period. Any subsequent vacancy caused in the Managing Governor's or Deputy Governor's post should be left to the choise of the Court of Directors. The branch Managers should be appointed by the Court of Directors and each applicant to the Branch Manager's post should be recommended by the Managing Governor. This post should be reserved in almost all cases to the sons of the soil.

In the above proposal the administration of the bank is vested in the hands of a body who are the best business brains of the country with no undue domination by the Government or by parties in power.

In 1927 the Reserve Bank Bill was dropped as there was a dispute over the control of the bank and its form. Now the

Banking Enquiry Committee has taken up in right earnest to find out the ways and means of improving the financial and economic condition of the country. Let us hope that its findings will be unanimous and a Central Bank to improve the Industrial and economic condition of the country, its foreign trade and regulation of banking and banking education will come into operation at an early date.

O. S. KRISHNAMOORTHY

A NIGHT WALK

Stealing some leisure, I indulged myself in a walk.
The whole city—stories upon stories—was afloat in electric light.
Beneath the street lamp, as under a moon, I had two shadows,
One long and one short.
Along a side walk, up a hill, I rambled slowly,
Looking back now and then in the direction of my Mother-country.
Heaven and earth, excepting artificial beams, were dark-enshrouded.
I was in a foreign land, with nothing to do but to admire
Other people's automobiles, speeding like the flow of the wind.
But one thing I noticed : Everywhere more and more
Men are made to become horses and cows.
To meet the world's misfortune was not the fate of only Old Cathay.

CHI HWANG CHU

NEPAL'S RELATIONS WITH THE OUTER WORLD [1]

With the Gurkha conquest a new chapter opened in the history of Nepal. This, of course, did not mean the end of the old order. The people were in no way molested so far as their religions and beliefs were concerned. Nothing was forced upon them. The Gurkha kings showed a wonderfully liberal outlook. The conquered races followed their own faiths. To some extent it may be that this toleration was perhaps more a virtue of necessity. The first immigrants were but few. Naturally they had to propitiate the indigenous people. By the time they had a respectable following they were more or less engrafted with local traditions and customs and thus became accepted to the conquered people as their kindred. But it was inevitable that the religious rites and social customs of the new rulers of the country should to some extent influence the people of the country, though in some cases indigenous customs remain unaltered even now. Without any effort on the part of the inhabitants many Hindu manners and customs found their way to the homes of even distant tribes and became naturalised in the country. But in many cases a compromise was made and Hinduism and Buddhism existed side by side without any spirit of acrimony or animosity to each other. No small contribution was made to this attitude of toleration by the Gurkha rulers. Had they been bigoted or actuated by base motives they could have compelled by force of arms the entire population to accept their own faith, manners and customs. On the contrary they allowed existing systems of religions to continue and as time passed on a compromise was made of the two different faiths. Therefore, to-day, in Nepal one sees Hindu deities being worshipped by Buddhists (*e.g.*, the goddess Guhyeśvarī) and Hindus offering oblations to Buddhistic gods like Mañjuśrī and Mahānkāl[1] and participating in Buddhist festivals like Machendranath Yatra.[2]

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[1] The greatest difficulty in the way of studying the early history of Nepal is the difference of versions in the Vansavalis or dynastic histories of Nepal. Two Vansavalis are in vogue, in Nepal-Buddhist and Hindu. Probably the earliest ones were written in Sanskrit. Vansavalis written in Newari are yet found and from after the Gurkha conquest are written in Parbatiya. Buddhist princes were extravagantly lauded in the Buddhist narratives and the process was repeated in the case of Hindu Kings in Vansavalis written by Hindu historians.

Eleven years before the Gurkha conquest of Nepal, the East India Company had established its power in India. Naturally Prithwi Narayan looked with suspicion upon all ambitions of the British. Not content with driving out the Christian missionaries, he stopped passes to European merchandise and even wrote to the Dalai Lama to help him in forbidding entrance to everything foreign.

In 1790 the military activities of the Gurkhas entangled them in a war with Tibet and China in which Nepal met with a reverse. British help had been sought and though it was refused, Lord Cornwallis, then Governor-General of India sent Colonel Kirkpatrick as mediator in 1792. But the Colonel arrived late. He however wrote the first connected account of the valley and published it in 1811. Peace was restored in 1792 and Nepal acknowledged nominal Chinese suzerainty and agreed to send every fifth year a mission to China with formal presents. In time this became a mere conventional affair. These embassies, to use the words of Maharaja Chandra Shum Shere, were merely channels of keeping up a friendly intercourse with distant China, expressing respect for the Celestial Emperor and cultivating the goodwill and friendly feeling of the Chinese Government. But it never meant subjection or anything of that kind.

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[1] The Siva Purana mentions the temple of Mahakala or Mahakaleswara at Ujjain. But neither the Nepal Mahankal nor Pashupati is mentioned there. (Dowson, Hindu Classical Dictionary, p. 178.)

[2] Machendranath is said to be the Guru of a saint named Gorakhnath who came from India. This Gorakhnath is mentioned in older Bengali poems like "Gorakhsha Vijaya." He was one of the founders of the 'Nath' sect which at one time drew a large number of followers in Bengal. In Nepal there is even now a class called 'Naths.' The story runs that once there was a serious drought for 12 years in Nepal due to Gorakhnath's holding the 'Nagas' in bondage. It was through the intervention of his Guru who was brought from Kamrup Kamakshya in Assam that there was again rainfall in Nepal. At first the king of Patan did not care to show any respect to the Saint when it was being drawn in a procession through the city. But the car refused to move just as it was brought in front of the royal palace and the king had a dream that the Saint was an incarnation of the Hindu Trinity and since that time the Pujah has been offered from the Patan Palace and that custom has since then been observed. Such is one of the many local legends in Nepal about the Saint.

The East India Company managed to enter into a commercial treaty with Nepal in 1791. In 1801 by a new treaty the British persuaded Ran Bahadur Sah to accept a Resident at Katmandu. But Captain W. D. Knox who was sent as Resident left Nepal in 1803 after a residence of eleven months only. This treaty was formally dissolved by Lord Wellesley in 1804. Taking advantage of the insecurity of the British power and the unsettled nature of political affairs in India, the Nepalese began to make encroachments into the British territories and in 1813 a mixed Commission of British and Nepalese representatives was appointed to enquire into the respective claims of the two Governments. Unfortunately the negotiations fell through and Lord Moira closed the discussions.

Apprehending further trouble, the Governor-General declared war on Nepal in 1814 and after various reverses on both sides, peace was signed by the Treaty of Segowli on 4th March, 1816. Accredited ministers were agreed to be received by both the contracting parties. The position of the British Resident in Nepal (later on the British Envoy at the Court of Nepal) has all along been that of a representative of the Government of India. The most well-known of the Residents in Nepal and the man to whom much of our knowledge of Nepal is due was Brian Houghton Hodgson, whose labours and researches inspired others to increase the stock of knowledge about this country. Among such scholars mention may be made of the names of Professor Burnouff, the pioneer worker on Buddhism, Cecil Bendall, Dr. Bühler, Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji and Professor Sylvain Lévi whose work on Nepalese history in three volumes has not been surpassed as yet by any other scholar in scholarship and learning. During times of trouble in Nepal when danger was looming ahead and breach with the English was imminent Hodgson's wise policy and conciliatory attitude averted serious consequences. He proposed a new commercial treaty between Nepal and India which though accepted by Bhimsen Thapa, the Prime Minister, was not sanctioned by the India Government. In 1836 Hodgson was able to arrange a scheme for the mutual extradition of criminals. This was finally settled in Maharaja Jung Bahadur's time by a new treaty proposed in 1853 and ratified in 1855.

Maharaja Jung Bahadur came to power in 1846. He was the most arresting personality in Nepalese history in the second part of the last century. He wrested from the king of Nepal the reins of administration of the country which since then have been in the hands of Prime Ministers. After making his position secure in the country, in 1850 he left for England with his brothers Jagat Shum Shere and Dhir Shum Shere (father of Nepalese Prime Ministers from Maharaja Bir to the present incumbent of that exalted office, Maharaja Bhim) and a party of other officials as Ambassador from Nepal. This visit was of great significance to the history of Nepal. Caste restrictions were very strict in Nepal and to cross the "black water" was entirely prohibited. In England he was received with great honours by Queen Victoria. He returned to his country in 1851, the first Nepalese to go to England, imbibing no doubt many enlightened ideas about government and society.

In 1854 incensed by the brutal treatment of the quinquennial mission to China while on its way through Tibet, Jung Bahadur declared war upon Tibet. The Tibetans were completely defeated and considerable portions of their territory were captured. In 1856 a treaty was signed between the two countries with the cessation of all hostilities. Both Nepal and Tibet agreed to continue to hold the Chinese emperor in respect. Tibet was to pay Nepal every year ten thousand rupees. Nepal promised to help Tibet in case of foreign invasion. Tibet would not levy taxes on goods from Nepal and a representative from Nepal was to be present in Lhasa to look after Nepalese interests in Tibet. In 1857 a terrible upheaval burst out in India and Jung Bahadur helped the English to quell the disturbances. As a mark of appreciation of these friendly services the British returned to Nepal the Oudh terai which the Nepalese had ceded to them in 1815. (Treaty, dated the 1st November, 1860.)

Merely mentioning the administrations of Maharajas Ranadip and Bir Shum Shere, we pass on to the modern period in the history of Nepal. The administration of Maharaja Chandra Shum Shere, who came to power in 1901, was marked by new ideas and new influences finding their way to Nepal. Himself an enlightened man, the Maharaja introduced many reforms into his country and brought it in contact with the outside world by various means. By codifying the laws of Nepal according to modern legal conceptions, by introducing University education, by patronage of learning and showing keen interest in the improvement of Nepalese vernacular and the spread of primary education, by the abolition of slavery in 1924 at enormous cost—an act which rivetted the attention of the whole civilized world upon him, by founding hospitals fitted with the latest medical and surgical paraphernalia, by the inauguration of electric lighting system in the city of Katmandu, by connecting Nepal with India by good roads and a railway, Chandra Shum Shere has brought Nepal into close touch with the modern world. One of his first acts after the assumption of power was to send in 1902 some youngmen to Japan for technical education. In the Imperial Durbar of 1903 the Maharaja was present in Delhi as the accredited envoy of an independent power. During the progress of the Younghusband Mission to Lhasa in 1904, Chandra Shum Shere brought home to the Dalai Lama's mind the utility of cultivating friendly relations with the British and practically he acted as mediator in the opening of the Chumbi Valley route between Tibet and India.

The last mission to China had been sent from Nepal in

1908. In 1911 China reminded Nepal that the quinquennial embassy was due to start in 1912, but Chandra Shum Shere asserted that it had never meant nor would ever mean vassalage. Since the establishment of the Chinese Republic no mission has been sent and China has kept silent in the matter. But Nepalese relations with China still remain friendly. In 1911-12 relations with Tibet became strained due to Chinese intrusion in Tibet. Chandra Shum Shere's firm policy averted anything unpleasant and Tibet had to pay an indemnity of more than a lakh of Tibetan rupees for loss sustained by Nepalese nationals in Tibet.

Maharaja Chandra undertook a voyage to England in 1908 in a special ship chartered by him so that he might observe the religious rites and ceremonies of his caste. In England he was given a warm and honourable reception by King Edward VII. Under the lead of his old friend, Lord Curzon, who was then Chancellor of the University of Oxford, that great and ancient seat of learning conferred upon the Maharaja the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Laws during this visit.

In the World War of 1914-18, Nepal placed her resources at the disposal of the Allies and her services of friendship were appreciated and recognised by England and France. These services of friendship were of immense help to the Allies and the Gurkha activities during the War can best be described in the words of a critic of the War: "Almost wherever there was a theatre of war Gurkhas were to be found and everywhere they added to their name for high courage. Gurkhas helped to hold the sodden trenches of France in that first terrible winter and during the succeeding summer. Their graves are thick on the Peninsula, on Sinai, and on the stony hills of Judæa. They fell in the forests of Africa and on the plains of Tigris and Euphrates, and even among the wild mountains that border the Caspian Sea." Another writer says: "One saw them in the mud of Flanders, in the deserts of Mesopotamia, on the rocky slopes of Gallipoli, in the forests of the Persian Gilan." In a speech in February, 1919, H. E. the Viceroy of India said: "In France, in Mesopotamia, in Egypt, in Palestine, and Salonika your fellow-countrymen have covered themselves with glory and worthily maintained the high fighting traditions of their race." The Maharaja sent two of his sons, General Baber Shum Shere and General Kaiser Shum Shere and some of his nearest relatives to be in charge of the Nepalese regiments stationed in India during the War. Two sons of the present Prime Minister, Maharaja Bhim Shum Shere, Commanding-General Padma and Colonel Prakash were on duty in India at this time. On the 21st December, 1923, a new treaty was signed between Nepal and the Government of India (on behalf of His Britannic Majesty the King-Emperor) for further strengthening of the friendship between the two countries. In 1920 the style of the British Resident was changed to that of British Envoy at the court of Nepal. But the pivot of the Maharaja's foreign policy was the preservation of the independence of his country. As has been rightly remarked by Mr. K. M. Pannikar in his book on Indian States the independence of Nepal is due to the sagacious policy of the Prime-Ministerial family (p. 41), and to this Chandra Shum Shere contributed in a great measure. To the great grief of those who knew him and his numerous friends and admirers, Chandra Shum Shere passed away at the age of 67 after a brief illness on the 25th of November, 1929, leaving the traditions of his office safe in the hands of his younger brother Maharaja Bhim Shum Shere who had served him faithfully as Commander-in-Chief of Nepal for 29 years and who has administrative experience of nearly 44 years under several Prime Ministers.

Thus far we have seen Nepal's political relations with foreign countries with incidental observations on relations of other nature. It now remains to be seen what kind of cultural, religious, ethnological and linguistic commerce she had with her neighbours. Examined ethnologically, the people of Nepal present a variety of anthropological origins. The Gurkhas forming the aristocracy of the country are of Rajput descent.

The Newars are of Tibetan extraction and their features are more Mongolian in type. As time went on there was intermixture of the Newars with other settlers in the valley. The Magars and Gurungs belong to the Tartar races. They are of Mongolian cast of features. The Limbus and Kirantis are decidedly Mongolian in appearance. The Limbus in their Vansavali claim descent from some residents of Benares (Vansittart, Ch. IX). The Lepchas living in the hills near Sikkim and the Bhotiyas living around the valley and between it and Tibet are of Mongolian origin.

So far as the religious beliefs are concerned, therein also we find difference of faiths. The Gurkhas are Hindus of the strictest type and their religious customs are very much the same as the people of Hindusthan. The Magars and Gurungs are Hindus but of low caste. The Brahminical influence over the Magars is seen in the adoption of their names, in their customs and ceremonies. The Gurungs accepted Brahminical supremacy at a later period and less heartily and consequently the Brahmins denied them some privileges such as the wearing of the sacred thread. But both the tribes have diluted their blood with that of Indians. Hindu action in Eastern Nepal was effective in a lesser degree than in Central Nepal and the reason must be attributed to the unwillingness of the inhabitants to come within the fold of Hinduism. The Limbus, Kirantis and Lepchas are Buddhists. So are the Newars and Bhotiyas. But their religion has become mixed up with Hinduism and therefore it is doubtful how much of the purity of the older Buddhism is found among its present adherents now.

Judged from the point of view of languages here also we come across several types. The Gorkhali or Parbatiya, the official language of Nepal, is a modernised dialect of Sanskrit. It is also known as Khas Kura. Hodgson says that eight-tenths of its vocabulary are substantially Hindi. (*The Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, 1874, p. 2.) Newari is a distinct language and it has much in common with Tibetan.

The Limbus and Bhotiyas use the Tibetan language. Magar and Gurung belong to the "unpronominalised type of Turanian tongues." (Hodgson, *Tribes of Northern Tibet*; Prof. Turner, *Languages of Nepal, "The Gurkhas,"* 1928.) The scripts used in the Nepalese inscriptions would also afford an interesting study in evolution. In the early inscriptions (*cf.* those of Manadeva, Jayavarman, Shivadeva, Amshuvarman) the language is Sanskrit, while the letters are those of the Gupta period. Later on (*cf.* Jayadeva's inscription) the characters become a modified form of the letters of the Gupta period though the language is Sanskrit. In the Malla inscriptions both the Newari and Nepalese characters are used, while the language is sometimes pure Sanskrit, sometimes Newari and sometimes incorrect Sanskrit. Among other links of Nepal with India we find that in the matter of the law of inheritance Nepal is guided by the Mitakshara system of Hindu law. The principal eras in vogue in Nepal at different times were all borrowed from India. Both the Samvat of Vikramaditya and the Salivahana Saka era are of Indian origin.

But the most important link with India was in the matter of Sanskritic studies. Nepal at one time was a great seat of Sanskrit learning. The State Library in Nepal is still perhaps one of the richest Sanskrit libraries in the world containing many rare and valuable manuscripts which are not available elsewhere. The learned President of the Oriental Conference held at Lahore in December, 1928, eloquently spoke of the rich manuscript library which Nepal contains. But valuable manuscripts from this country were taken away elsewhere when people had little idea of the value of such texts. To-day they enrich the Bodleian at Oxford, the British Museum and the Library of the India Office in London, the National Library of Paris, the Asiatic Society's library in Calcutta and the libraries of some of the German Universities. The reason why Nepal was so rich in Sanskrit manuscripts was certainly that when the Mohamedans were putting an end to every kind of non-Moslem culture in northern India, scholars with their books of learning fled from their homes in the plains, sought refuge in the hills and found there a safe asylum where they could continue their studies free from all molestation. Manuscripts in Nepal are also in a better state of preservation than those of the same date in India because of the climate. Even in a remote Tibetan monastery, a Buddhist pilgrim from Japan found Sanskrit texts written on palm leaves which were brought from India by Sakya Pandit, the founder of that monastery. It is not at all improbable that these manuscripts found their way to Tibet through Nepal.

The cultural activities of Nepal during the past centuries were fostered to a great extent by the literary taste evinced by some of the kings of Nepal and specially those belonging to the Malla family, some of whom were dramatists and poets themselves.[1] Of them, Jaya Sthiti Malla, Jagat Jyotir Malla and Bhupatindra Malla deserve special mention. Pratapa Malla also dabbled in verse-writing. Jaya Sthiti was a great patron of Sanskrit learning. There was a remarkable revival of letters in his reign and lengthy Sanskrit inscriptions in prose and verse characterise his time. He encouraged on one occasion the performance of a four-act Ramayana. The "Mānava-Nyāya-śāstram," a Saṁhitā of Narada on the law book of Manu, with a brief commentary in Newari entitled "Nyāya-Vikāśinī" (1380 A.D.) was introduced in Nepal during his rule. MM. Hara Prasad Sastri says, "The object was to bring the administration of justice more in unison with the Smṛti than before. The advent of a new dynasty was followed by reforms in every direction, and the aim of these reforms was Aryanizing the Newars." But curiously enough that had to be done through their language and by themselves. Except the Gurkhas no other conquerors brought a language of their own.

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[1] It is interesting to note that some years ago Lt.-General Kaiser Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, K.B.E., son of Maharaja Chandra and one of the most cultured men in Nepal brought out a Nepalese translation of Kalidasa's "Vikramorbashi."

Jagat Jyotir Malla was interested in music and poetry. The works attributed to him are, "Sangitsārsamgraha," "Sangita Candra," "Sangit Vāskara," and "Ślokasamgraha." Sangita Candra is a work of some importance. It is based entirely upon Bharata Nātya-Sāstra which was brought to Nepal from Southern India by this monarch. The last-mentioned work is an anthology in the nature of collection and compilation as the title suggests. Between Tirhout and Nepal there seems to have been a close association. There were many Tirhouti scribes in Nepal and on the other hand there were numerous Nepalese scribes in Tirhout. In Nepal many manuscripts are found which were written in Maithil character. Dramas and songs written in a dialect akin to Maithil were in abundance during the Malla period, specially in the 17th and 18th centuries. These seem to be allied to works of Maithil poets like Vidyapati and there are both devotional hymns and love-songs. King Bhupatindra Malla is credited with the authorship of some of them. There were altogether 17 plays written by the Malla kings themselves in such a dialect. Then between Bengal and Nepal there was a cultural relationship. Some interesting manuscripts written in Bengali script were discovered in Nepal by Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri but their language is a corrupt form of Prakrit. Some of these are, Prapanchasaratantram, Hastamuktavali, Prabodhchandradayatika, etc. His more valuable finds are Ramcharit and the Buddhist songs. In the last quarter of the 17th century a drama named "Gopi Chandra" was written in Bengali language by King Jitamitra Malla of Bhatgaon. A MS. of this drama in Devanagri character written in 1690 is preserved in the Durbar Library of Nepal. This Gopi Chandra or Govinda Chandra is the theme of works in older Bengali literature specially in poems like "Maynamatir Gan." The Bengali Ramayana of Krittibas mentions the presence of the king of Nepal among other princes at the Aswamedha sacrifice of Sri Rama Chandra. (Uttara Kanda.)

Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra and the Cambridge scholar Cecil

Bendall have written respectively on Nepalese Buddhist literature (1882), the MSS. of which are preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal which are preserved in the Library of the Cambridge University (1886). Bendall secured several valuable manuscripts from Nepal which include works on Purana, Itihasa, Kavya, Vyakarana, Dharmasastra, Art, Tantric rituals and purely Buddhist works. A large number of manuscripts was taken away by Hodgson and Wright. In the Indian Institute Library at Oxford which forms a part of the famous Bodleian, there are 79 rotographs of important Sanskrit manuscripts presented by Maharaja Chandra Shum Shere.

JAYANTA KUMAR DAS GUPTA

TO ROSE

The perfume of your flower-name,
The lilt of your gay voice,
How should man dwell betwixt these twain,
There dwell, and not rejoice?
When first your gracious, fragrant self
Played Venus to my Mars,
Then Day swooned in the arms of Night
And brought forth little stars.
For all your winsome, sweet conceits
Like modest flowers are,
And all your ways are lovers' ways,
Dan Cupid's avatar.
Persephone in lily-fields,
Helen in Paris' arms...
What are they but frail ghosts beside
The magic of your charms?
Oh, dear of mine, this lovely love
Ever 'twixt thee and me
Will blossom forth in further loves
Incarnate yet to be.

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

ROBERT BRIDGES

Intimate connection between his Earlier Works and the Last Poem :—

Numerous materials scattered in Bridges' poetical works from 1883 to 1921 show that his development, as evidenced by *The Testament of Beauty* (1929), is a continuous process. In giving expression to his individuality they reveal unity too. There is a shadowing forth of life's philosophy as mastered and interpreted by him. "The secret of a poem," says he (IV. 992-3 of T. B.), "lieth in this intimate echo of the poet's life."

As a genetic process it must include variety of phases comprising changes and differentiations. Yet a single connecting thread is visible marking his unique personality.

If all scattered hints were put together a separate essay would be made up. So only a few, as they occur, are noted below.

Argument or theme of the Testament of Beauty :

To begin with the theme of the poem or its "argument." It may be briefly stated as follows :—Evolution [1] from plant [2] and insect to man ; and in [3] man from animal life to the highest spiritual level (I. 616-25—a passage of really sublime poetry—and II. 204, 40-53).

Two Instincts are the starting points.[4] The first is

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[1] The scheme of the poem is based on this foundation (*cf.* II. 32-43).

[2] II. 75-9 ; 183-266 ; 267 *et seq.*

[3] Spiritual elation and response to Nature is Man's generic mark (I. 318-19, and "desire of perfection is Nature's promise" (*ib.* 581).
III. 40 *et seq.*

Cf. "Instinct at long last wooed expediency ;
"Thence blossomed law" (*Prometheus in Piccadilly*, p. 152).

[4] I. ll. 445-7, II. ll. 13, 32-41. Here Plato's myth (*Phaedrus*) of two horses is re-interpreted by the poet, ll. 182-224.

III. 1-4 ; 151-62 ; 205-19 ; 498 *et seq.* ; 741-2 ; 755-63.

Self-hood[5] [*i.e.*, instinct of self-preservation or gratification subject-matter of Book II].

The second is Breed[6] (*i.e.*, of race-continuity or propagation). Breed, again, is self-hood's "foal" [subject-matter of Book III]. Out of these grow a third instinct (as if it were) which may be called the artistic. This is not primary or primitive. Yet (as Darwin has elaborately shown) its *unconscious*[8] play is distinctly visible in the animal kingdom.

The value and utility of this sense of beauty in man in bringing about his highest spiritual growth is practically the main trend of all the *discussions* with which this long poem is filled. He concludes, in his characteristic way, such a discussion, (for instance, in IV. 1267-1313, a passage of superb poetry of sincere self-portraiture quite different from that of the poets of the Romantic Movement,) by affirming (ll. 1305-6) "Verily by Beauty it is that we come at Wisdom, yet not by Reason at Beauty." This discarding of Reason is somewhat after the manner of Wordsworth when his mental crisis was over, of Shelley in the last phase of his development, of Newman after his "conversion" and Gladstone when he fought strenuously with Huxley.

We are tempted to quote the four lines following (ll. 1306-9) for their entrancing sincerity of an anxious artist (a true lover of beauty) lest he should betray his mistress by indulging in rhetoric in poetry:—

> " And now with many words
> pleasing myself betimes I am fearing lest in the end
> I play the tedious orator who maundereth on
> for lack of heart to make an end of his nothings."

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[5] "The motive of Selfhood is common to all Being" (III. 741).
The myth of the charioteer and his two horses in Plato's Phaedrus is utilised in ll. 13-15. Reason is the charioteer and Selfhood and Breed his horses.
Cf. II. 80-94, 134, 551-52.

[6] III. 151-52.
I. 446-50. Instincts rule animal and man alike, reason being exceptional. "Pick-lock Reason is still a-fumbling at the words" (463), III. 205-19 (Sublimation of Instincts).

[7] III. 185; 316-46; 387-93.

[8] I. 93-98.
III. 783-794.

In man, these two legitimate elements are regulated by Reason.[9] [The function of Reason and its relation to other aspects of human nature are next elaborated.] Rightly regulated, instincts are potentially good.

Impulse[10] is the driving power or urge. Its use, when right, makes primary instincts end in man's ascent to godhood. On the contrary, wrong use makes them end in man's descent to brutality.

Reason,[11] for instance, converts the animal's instinctive love of the beautiful into a *consciously* realised element in man; *i.e.*, it then becomes "conscient" as the aesthetic sense.

[The antithesis between Nature and Art is sought next to be explained away or, if we like, removed. Really this is the poet's way of reconciling apparent contradictions.[12]]

Vital urge thus gets *associated* with Beauty. Beauty is described or defined by the poet, as conceived by him, carefully.[13]

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[9] I. 187-206; II. 863-68.

But by itself Reason is useless, I. 57-87.

A fragment of Unconscious Mind (and of Nature's plan) 1. 152; *cf.* also 174-86.

II. 448, 699-706, 698 (function of Reason), 725-31, 732-73 (Reason a servant to Art).

[10] III. 440-53.

Cf. P. P., p. 179.

The idea of ascent or descent is used also in P. P. (which will stand for *Prometheus in Piccadilly*), p. 146, where man's evolution is described in section XII (full of *actualities*).

[11] III. 163-204, 205-271, 392-93.

[12] III. 440-73.

Desire of knowledge will "find the goal where Truth and Virtue and Beauty are all as one" (IV. 876-7) and the soul's nobility "consisteth in harmony of Essences" (947). In alluding to his admiration for Greek art (I. 698 *et seq.*) Bridges speaks of "such lively accord of Sense, Instinct, Reason and Spirit" (l. 708). Again we have (II. 818-19):

> "Man's true wisdom were a reasoned harmony
> and correlation of these divergent faculties."

[13] Reason gradually gaining importance needs association with Art (making even philosophers treat of Art) (II. 732-73). Beauty defined in his "*loose Alexandrines*" (l. 841) as the highest of occult influences. Its relation to Art and God (ll. 843-47).

III. 281-87 show how spiritual beauty is born of physical beauty.

Cf. P. P., p. 141—

> "As gleaning in the shell,
> The pearl, so gleaming close shut in the soul,
> the strength of beauty."—III. 740-54.

Selfhood and Breed (*i.e.*, love of life and love of the race), divorced from love of Beauty, makes life[14] futile. Even the savage's *instinctive* terror of unseen or unknown powers in Nature, when *sublimated* into awe, will develop into some sort of aesthetic appreciation.

Beauty *associated* with Breed produces [15] Love. [Love is next elaborated.]

Ideal love, in origin, is sensuous[16] beauty. So, after all, it is Beauty which vitalizes instincts, refines them, makes them ethereal.

Beauty leads to the consummation of man's highest destiny —*viz.*, peace[17] with God. The aesthetic is the way to the spiritual.[18]

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[14] III. 748-49 : " But since there is beauty in nature, mankind's love of life
apart from love of beauty is a tale of no account."

The following lines (750-54) describe how man's apprehensive wonder at unknown power being transformed by beauty into awe led him step by step to religious joy (*cf.* 794-802). Comparing Nichols' P. P. (p. 168) we find he too says exactly that—

"If a thing, however strong,
Be without beauty, neither shall it have
Eternity. Life is eternal, so a beautiful weft."

[15] III. 195-204, 272-9; 300-24; 755-63, 764-87, 795-808.

[16] III. 421-39 with which it is interesting to compare P. P., p. 129 IV (the 11th stasimon), particularly stanzas 6 to 8, from which I quote the last two lines—

" For by such rapture Time was stirred
To set Love on his burning throne."

We need hardly remind our readers how Shelley through his Platonism had, before all these poets, made the passion of love ethereal, distinguishing (after the Symposium) between the two Venuses, as Bridges does.

[17] This is practically the poem's keynote. It is struck early enough in I. 255-59 where in his admiration of St. Francis of Assisi the poet speaks of winning to peace through tribulation. Even such a saint could praise Nature

" tho' from such altitude whatever picture is drawn
must be out of focus of our terrestrial senses" (ll. 260-61).

In a fine passage of subjective self-portraiture (I. 393-410), disclosing his early Catholic affinities—" the Semitic matrix of my father's creed"—he speaks of his religious conviction that at last (if God mercifully grants it) *reconciliation* in reason of all wisdom, passion and love will lead to "Christ's Peace on Earth." The Great War tormented this cultured soul too much, as we find from his poems alluding to it [such as *New Verse*, Nos. V (ll. 36-40), IX (1—10), XVIII and his anthology called "the Spirit of Man" (of 1916)].

No wonder that he should leave to humanity such a soothing message of Peace and Goodwill.

Cf. Later Poems (1907)—" He dreameth of beauty

He seeks to create
Fairer and fairer
To vanquish his Fate" (Page 400, Oxf. Edn.)

III. 783-794.

[18] " The high goal of our great endeavour is spiritual attainment " (II. 204-5).

Faith[19] has an important rôle: specially faith in Christ—"whose humanity is God's personality and communion with whom is the life of the soul."

Prayer[20] plays an important part. Faith and Prayer are means to an end—the end of the completion of the Ring[21] of Existence. It "reaches upward the original creativ Energy which is God." In its state of inactivity the Ring is Unity and Being.[21]

II. 918-27; III. 201-4, 220-44, 245-62, 440-53; (Christian marriage) 478-97; IV. 1132-37.

III. In 1118-22 he thinks his thesis is proved by the art-symbol used by Titian in his picture of Two Women at a Well.

IV. 1-25.

[19] Faith heartens Reason (II. 510).

Faith in Beauty (III. 300-324). By faith only a man can save his soul (III, 975-1001). P. P., pp. 164-65 (reminding us also of Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*).

III. 975-1000.

[20] IV. 1138-1252.

Cf. P. P., pp. 152-3 (13th stasimon). The last stanza is highly suggestive but st. 4 and 5 show contrast between the two poets.

At page 165 reference is made to "submission's ecstasy." "Rebellion has no beauty" (p. 168). So the rebel hero humbled by intimate knowledge of life's *actualities* is schooled and realises that "one serves not beauty save in humility" and he lifts his voice in supplication to God, "since love needs love to meet it." Here the coincidence between the two poets is striking.

[21] Mr. Nichols' "circle of activity" (P.P., page 179) corresponds to Bridges' "Ring" and in the Ring of Existence, "Reason will rise to awareness of its rank" in that Ring "where man looketh up to the first cause of all" (IV. 1073-75).

T.B., IV. 123-30, contain a Vedantic idea of the Absolute in its inactivity—

"The Ring in its repose is Unity and Being:
Causation and Existence are the motion thereof.
Thr'out all runneth Duty, and the conscience (*i.e.*, consciousness) of it
is thatt creativ faculty of animal mind
that, wakening to self-conscience of all Essences,
closeth the full circle, where the spirit of man
escaping from the bondage of physical Law
re-entereth eternity by the vision of God."

This is not only philosophy but highly abstract philosophy. In II. 910-12 we have Aristotle's view presented by Bridges as God's being consisting in the unbroken exercise of absolute intellect. The highest ethic is described in IV. 244-47 in which "by personal affiance with beauty" it escapes and soars away "to where the Ring of Being closeth in the Vision of God." This higher and spiritual Ethick has been called (in l. 197 of IV) "Satisfaction of soul."

So far as the fundamental idea of a gradual evolution from plant and insect to man's highest spirituality is concerned, Mr. Nichols' *Prometheus in Piccadilly* presents that poet's way of working it out *specially* in Book IV (The Triumph of God), sec. IV, characteristically and significantly entitled "The Beast in Heaven."

Mr. Nichols and Bridges.

Here Cheiron, self-sacrificing benefactor of Prometheus and his *alter ego* as a friend, when admitted, after returning like Christ *from his sacrifice,* into the company of the "flaming horde" of Gods, is greeted, however, by the Furies with astonished and indignant cries of—"A beast in Heaven! a thing of hoofs!" But Pan renewing his music "sang of Time and Fate and eager Life"—of "How all mysterious things move to their end in seasonable delight." In short, he sang of Evolution or Cyclic change—of "how all mysterious things moved from their wombs

"Into immortal growths, from worms to beasts,
Beasts to the Gods, the Gods to men, and men
Back to the Gods, in ever-changing web."

When *rapt,* Pan sang "of Man and Love"; and eventually, "tearing asunder his reed," cried in a fearful voice:

"Even as I am
Art Thou, and never Thou and I shall change!
Ah, God!"

And we read in the stasimon that follows—

"Life is as a tide which creeps
Over sands as yet untrod,
Till at last it overleaps
Time's high sea-mark, finding God."

I may apply to Bridges' *Testament* the lines (1-4 of Sec. IX of P.P.) : it is

"a fruit
That has matured, a ripened ecstasy.
O joyous peace that art the sap of Love
How shall I hymn thy praise? "

Mr. Nichols too, like Bridges, sang in his beautiful, longer poem (half epic, half dramatic and mainly lyrical)

" I am one with the Earth
* * *
Magnificent Life,
Thy name is joy, thy name is love, thy name is power!
* * —and the universe
Is but thyself in travail to be free
And conscious and divine * *
* * *
And when Death sifts the varying essences
Through vermeil gauzes on a sunset height
What then will live but beauty? "[22] * *

Nichols' poem ends with the Policeman's warning—" don't argue!. Move on!" But Bridges is all argument, as if by way of a dignified protest. Nichols is full of mysticism but Bridges of Science, which eclipses his mysticism completely; and, where *The Testament of Beauty* is through and through Christian, *Prometheus in Piccadilly* is well-nigh *Vedantic*. Both are highly philosophical and they have more in common than it is our need in the present essay to illustrate.

Being much impressed by their resemblances even in difference, I have just shown how Bridges' poem is anticipated[23] by that of Nichols, while proposing to deal with anticipations and intimations discernible in the earlier poetical utterances of Bridges himself.

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[22] *Cf.* also P.P., pp. 53, 102-3 " blow the trumpet of beauty over this world," 106, 118, 129 and 141.

[23] This is a digression.

As regards the *Testament*, I have tried to condense the topics comprised in the theme to a bare anatomy, so to say, of a living work of art. My object is simply to keep, as guide, this before the reader's eyes in the attempt I am next making to show how *one developing personality finds expression in all the works of Bridges.* Where necessary, a little elaboration of the theme, already given in its skeleton, may afterwards be made.

His early work the Prelude to his latest.

We have noted, in a general way, how his early poetry celebrates Beauty, Love and Joy.[24] We omit references to these and pass on to his recognition of Instincts[25] in his earlier poetry which in the *Testament of Beauty* forms the very foundation of his thesis —for, a thesis is actually worked out in this last poem.

Instincts.

We have referred to Persephone's character, as conceived and delineated in *Demeter*, as the product of the essential tendency of the Renaissance. That modern movement specially recognised the claims of the flesh. That leads to recognition of Instincts as the foundations of life in man, biologically considered. We next note in *Eros and Psyche*, a natural curiosity in Psyche, who is transformed by our poet into one of Eve's daughters that, despite warnings, must follow her instinct, be it to her temporary suffering which in the end will evolve happiness. Since Psyche has with her own eyes "seen forbidden things," "with salt and fire her spirit is purged" (*Demeter*, ll. 933-34). For, "how come to resurrection without death?" (*Ibid*, 909.)

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[24] *Cf.* P.P., p. 76 : " The beauty broken ! And the joy
Besmirched ! Ai, ai ! The love foredoomed and waste"—cries out Prometheus inveighing against the meddler Zeus who marred the handicraft of the hero.

[25] In P.P., p. 52, Instincts of spiders, bees, birds accounted for and p. 152. shows the use of Instinct but Nichols' view, in contrast to that of Bridges, is that " God hath scant lot in this," creation being for creation's sake only—without any design or ulterior end. It is only an act—result of Will to Do. Their radical difference comes out in

" Yet Life opens manifold doors
To adventurous sense and eye;
And Chance and Change on the Earth
Bring Love and Beauty to birth." (P.P., p. 40).

Psyche (we read in *Eros and Psyche*, July 9) being "soft and simple lost her self-control" and egged on by her sisters "made question of her lover's bidding as unjust." Nay,

> "But thirsting curiosity to learn.
> His secret overcame her simple trust,
> O'ercame her spoken troth, o'ercame her fear ;
> And now she prepared, as now the hour drew near,
> The mean contrivances, nor felt disgust" [stanza 14, July,
> p. 124, Oxf. Edn.: Poetical Works].

We just refer also to stanzas 25, 26 and 30; and stanza 7 of February.

Breed.

"Breed" is made much of in st. 19 of June and 21 of September; and finally, in the last stanza of the whole poem (which according to the poet's curious scheme is the 365th) the result of "breed" is the child Hedonè—

> "Whom in our noble English JOY we call" [line 5 of that stanza].

When love is degraded we have lust (for which we refer to st. 18 of March and 24 of August). We may refer to *Prometheus in Piccadilly* (p. 152) :

> "He shifted good from evil upon Earth ;
> And love from lust."

More indirect, but suggestive, is st. 11 of March, having reference to "breed."

One may contend that the very nature of the subject-matter of *Eros and Psyche* involved such references and therefore inferences drawn from them are invalid. We turn to "*Prometheus, The Firegiver*," ll. 511-14, where Inachus says—

> "This fire I seek
> Not for myself, whose thin and silvery hair
> Tells that my toilsome age nears to its end,
> But for my children and the aftertime," etc.

We rest content with references also to ll. 313-818 and 898-903, lest quotations grow too numerous.

This we find in the poet of 1884-85. In 1921 the same thought persistently recurs in *Come Si Quando* (*New Verse*, 1925, p. 35, ll. 171-76)—

> "Ask her that taught man filial love, what she hath done
> the mother of all mothers, she unto her own dear son?" etc.

How "brutish instinct" impels "the human hero" is elaborately described in ll. 232-246 (which give us beautiful poetry too in his later manner). In another beautiful passage of poetry (ll. 260-275) stress is laid on the irrepressible power of the natural instinct of pity in "the good wife" who gives shelter to the "hunted fox;" and in ll. 144-152, Reason is set over against Instincts. Curiously enough this passage showing the poet's growing habit of "interrogation," begins with the question "And what man's Mind?"—exactly as in the *Testament of Beauty* (IV. 881) we have......"*What the Mind is*, this thing bidden to know itself?"

Duty (Reason).

Similarly Duty[26] is conceived and presented in a manner, not exactly Wordsworthian, both in *The Testament of Beauty* and in his earlier works. This relates to the idea of *law* (already referred to at pp. 399 and 405, *Calcutta Review* for June).

Beauty.

His ideal of Beauty, and, what is for our present topic more important, his conception of its function in evolution may be more convincingly shown to imply a continuity of thought, by quotations of parallel passages from his early and later poetry. Considering its importance, this aspect of the question cannot be disposed of in haste.

His earliest longer poem *Prometheus* suggestively lays down

> "And no strength for thee but the thought of duty
> Nor any solace but the love of beauty."

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[26] T. B., IV; ll. 131-204; *Eros and Psyche*, October, 10; *New Poems*, 22; *Prometheus* ll. 616, 622 and 624.

The semi-chorus avers (with reference to this Fire-giver)—

> " I praise him whom I have seen:
> As a man he is beautiful, blending prime and youth
> * * *
> As a god."

Is it on some such hint that the remarkable " Sermon at the Fountain " (XVII, pp. 153-58) in *Prometheus in Piccadilly* was composed by Mr. Nichols? In " telling of beauty " that poet's stress is on Joy, Peace, Love, 'beautitul as opposed to unlovely *living*,' Man and God 'as branches of a single tree,' order and harmony, man's 'ascent from the ooze '—all presented in the musical and highly lyrical strain of a magnificent poetic passage. The parallelism between the two poets happens somehow to be very close. I note elsewhere where their difference is fundamental.

Invoking the god earnestly " to return," the Semichorus in Bridges' *Prometheus* adds significantly—

> " Remember and soon return !
> To prosper with peace and skill
> Our hands in the works of pleasure, beauty and use."

In *Demeter*, the ocean nymphs remonstrate that Poseidon gave them no command to leave their " opalescent pearly caves" but they were drawn from their sea-abode by the beauty of Persephone (ll. 373-79). *Eros and Psyche*, which establishes allegorically the relation of love to the soul, is full of similar suggestions. We confine ourselves to only 3 stanzas (April, 4-6) where eloquently the poet sets forth that Beauty is nothing unless it fires " the loving answer of an eager soul," being " the native food of man's desire " and the controller of the varying world to good. Even if by chance some beauteous things lie unregarded on the earth by reason of man's gross intelligence—

> " These are not vain because in nature's scheme
> It lives that we shall grow from dream to dream
> In time to gather an enchantment thence."[27]

We may compare with it the lines—

> " As the art of man makes wisdom to glorify
> The beauty and love of life born else to die (New Poems).

His *Growth of Love* proves how love combined with beauty[28] leads to joy and being itself spiritualised subserves religion (Son. 35).

> " All earthly beauty hath one cause and proof,
> To lead the pilgrim soul to beauty above."

In *Shorter Poems* (IV. 9) he says—

> " My eyes for beauty pine
> My soul for Goddes grace."[29]

The poet, after exhorting youth possessing high hope and aspiring to truth never to look back nor tire, heartens him by adding—

> " Beauty and love are nigh,
> And with their deathless quire
> Soon shall thine eager cry
> Be numbered and expired " (Shorter Poems, III. 19).

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[27] Is not here to be detected the germ of the idea of beauty being left to man as a legacy to a trustee?

[28] *Cf.* also Son. 56, 65.

[29] *Cf.* Shorter Poems, II. 1, p. 243, Oxf. Edn.

Why does he, unless from the beginning his idea of a close intimacy between Beauty and God was his inspiration, say (*Ibid*, IV. 1)

Conclusion.

> " I love all beauteous things
> I seek and adore them
> * * *
> I too will something make
> And joy in the making " ?[30]

Like Milton, who in a number[31] of ways is Bridges' exemplar, this later poet too, I infer, was " choosing long but beginning late."[31] "I too *will* something make "—as if till then (1890) he had not! His readers had, however, decided the period to which the poem quoted from belongs to have been that of his full production (*vide, Calcutta Review*, June, page 392). We may draw our readers' attention to the remarks and quotations at page 402 of the Review in question for Bridges' improvement on the Keatsian " Beauty is Truth." There is a magnificent passage of poetry too long to quote on Bridges' way of realising the identity between Love of Beauty and Beauty of Truth in III (ll. 1030-57) of the *Testament of Beauty.*

If we now turn to the *Testament of Beauty*, Book III, 220-364, we are at once convinced that there is a regular process of development in Bridges' ideal of Beauty as a principle which helps evolution from animal instinct to spiritual love and religion.

Reason.

In ll. 201-4 is indicated sex-sublimation into altruistic emotion and spiritual love by the operation of Reason

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[30] *Cf.* Growth of Love, 26 :—

> " Now the third joy of making, the sweet flower
> Of blessed work, bloometh in godlike spirit."

[31] Bridges too had, like Milton, what Professor Elton (in his Introduction to *Comus*) calls " Silence of his muse from which it emerged deeper and nobler." Bridges' silence covers 1921 to 1928. Pages may be devoted to show elaborately the relation of Bridges to Milton in many respects. But space forbids.

Now this function of Reason is implied, not clearly worked out, in his early poetry ; for instance in *Prometheus*, ll. 616, 622, 624 ; in *Eros and Psyche*, October, 10; in *New Poems*, No. 22 (The Duteous Heart) ; and in *New Verse*, VIII (*Come Si Quando*).

In No. XVI (*New Verse*—"Low Barometer"), st. 3, the earlier claims of Instincts than those of Reason are finely put—

> " And Reason kens he herits in
> A haunted house. Tenants unknown
> Assert their squalid lease of sin
> With earlier title than his own."

The use made in this piece of Psychoanalysis (st. 4 and 5) goes to show not only the primacy of Instincts but also the method of dissertation employed in the *Testament of Beauty*. Bridges' is the Socratic method applied to poetry with the help of Plato and Aristotle, modified by his own interpretation of these Greeks in the light of modern science and modern philosophy. Bridges is in his own way a Behaviourist, Psychoanalyst and Evolutionist.

Love.

Love results from the aesthetic sense of beauty according to the last poem of Bridges and in No. XV (of *New Verse*—" Vision") we read—

> " Not ev'n the Apostles, in the days
> They walked with Christ, lov'd him so well
> As we may now, who ken his praise
> Reading the story that they tell,
>
> * * *
>
> So 'tis with me; the time hath clear'd
> Not dull'd my loving : I can see
> Love's passing ecstasies endear'd
> In aspects of eternity : "
>
> etc.

Apart from the scattered evidences, we have in *Prometheus* (ll. 436-504) the hero's long speech on man's desire called "the unquenchable original cause, the immortal breath of being."

"The College Garden" in 1917 (No. V of *New Verse*) refers to man's impulse in the lines—

"The infinitude of Life is in the heart of man,
a fount surging to fill a lake that mirrors heav'n,
and now to himself he seemeth stream to be and now pool
as he acteth his impulse or stayeth brooding thereon." (ll. 1-4)

"He will have surfeit of passion" (l. 25).

Yet the poet is quite hopeful. Says he—

"Surely I know there is none that hath not taint at heart:
Yet drink I of heav'nly hope and faith in God's dealing
basking this summer day under the stately limes
by the immemorial beauty of this gothic college" (ll. 29 32)

* * *

In Bridges there is no trace of the spirit of the Sadducees or the Pharisees. On the contrary, as in *The Testament of Beauty* so also in his earlier poems, he elaborately shows how man's primitive and primary instincts are gradually sublimated into Love, Joy or Friendship. We have to rest content with bare references to *Eros and Psyche*—January 11; February 9, 22, 24 and 27; July 19 and 29; and September 11 (on friendship); to *Growth of Love*—son. 60 and 65; to *Short Poems,* I. 11; III. 13; IV. 2; V. 5; to *New Poems,* Nos. 5, 7, 8, 9, 16 and 20; to *Later Poems,* 6; to *New Verse,* Nos. III (Tapestry), V (The College Garden), VII (Come Si Quando), XV (Vision) and XVI (Low Barometer).

Friendship.

In the *Testament of Beauty* a high place is assigned to friendship (as if in imitation of Shelley) in a magnificent passage (ll. 1369-1393, Book IV) too long to quote. It is reminiscent of the poet's own friendship with Messrs. Dolben and Hopkins whose influence on his work was immense. This emotional attitude reflects love and joy as supreme in his life and poetry.

Personal Note.

This continuity in his matter and manner, in his thought and artistic expression, gives, in my view, added significance to the charming personal revelation contained in (ll. 37-43, Book I of T.B)—

> "To such a mood I had come by what charm I know not,
> where on that upland path I was pacing alone ;
> and yet was nothing new to me, only all was vivid
> and significant that had been dormant and dead :
> as if in a museum the fossils on their shelves
> should come to life suddenly, or a winter rose-bud
> burst into crowded holiday of scent and bloom."

The mood alluded to is that of the Wordsworthian wise passiveness or "standing and staring" of W. H. Davies—beautifully portrayed in the second and third paragraphs (ll. 8-36) of the poem. He there speaks of his old age, with ever-diminishing companions, rejuvenated with fresh vitality and enthralling him "with a glow of childlike wonder—

> "as if my sense
> had come to a new birth purified, my mind enrapt
> re-awakening to a fresh initiation of life."

The spirit of the Renaissance is working in him here too.

Faith.

The manner of beginning of his latest work lends support to my contention. It is curious that towards the end of such a long poem (IV. 1326-39) Bridges should, as if on purpose, revert to this absorbing topic of childhood's sensibility to *Wonder* and its grand simplicity likely to be eclipsed by two eager "interrogation"—over-earnest questioning *thought*—meaning as it were to correct Wordsworth. This lost wonder according to Bridges is recaptured by nature's Love, which, confirming Faith, leads to salvation.

To this Bridges gives the name of mighty "*second vision*"—

> "which cometh
> in puberty of body and adolescence of mind
> that, forgetting his Mother, he calleth it "first Love;"
>
> * * *
>
> till every moment as it flyeth, cryeth " Seize!
> Seize me ere I die ! I am the Life of Life"
>
> (IV. 1340-56).

A Mystic Note.

This beautiful passage should not have been, as we have done, mutilated in quotation but it is too long for us. Keeping the famous *Ode on Intimations of Immortality* before his mind, our poet here in a Blake-like mystic mood expresses what he has felt, not merely as a "fashioner" but truly as a " seer" possessing the prophet's vision, regarding the ineffable glory of childhood. Like all famous mystics he recognises too the rich promise, potentiality and value of the *unique moment* that cryeth while it flyeth, seize me, ere I die, I am the Life of Life !

In my Yeats Essay, published in this *Review*, I have dwelt at length on this feature of that mystic-poet's works. (*The Calcutta Review*, October, 1928, page 103, and also, September, 1928, pages 423-425, and May, 1928, pages 150-151.)

This subdued mysticism bears witness to the supremacy in Bridges of the Christian's religious self-surrender to God, through-personal spiritual relationship established by Faith and prayer which are elaborately referred to in *The Testament of Beauty*, but well-defined and clear preludings of which are distinctly visible in three pieces among his earlier works, *viz.*, Son. 69 (his Lord's Prayer) of *Growth of Love*, No. 30 of *Shorter Poems*, Book IV (*Laus Deo*) and No. 19 of *Later Poems* (An Ode, Hymn of Nature, Sec. VII, quoted in part at page 402 of *The Calcutta Review* for June, 1930). *Cf. Eros and Psyche*, October, No. 12 (page 148 P. W.)

We have so far discussed mainly the matter of his poetry : now as to his manner. Three well-defined phases of growth are discernible; the first represented by his "Masks," the Sonnet-sequence, and lyrical poems composed from 1880 to 1912 (*i.e.*, up to the Pre-War period) ; the second by those composed in 1921 (appearing with other pieces in the *New Verse* volume of 1925); and, finally, the last, which gives to *The Testament of Beauty* all the glory and splendour of mature art.

The Poet's Manner.

This long poem of 4,374 lines, in four parts, is very like a connected *discussion*[32] or dissertation, carried on logically (almost mathematically as in proving a geometrical problem) yet in a highly artistic[33] fashion. The intellectual element, so paramount, is often, but *not always*, tempered with emotional fervour.[34] The imagery is concrete and mainly sensuous and the diction, though peculiar and not free from defect, very appropriate and musical. The style (not simple) is suited to the manner though tending to be too reflective, and, here and there rather stiff,[35] yet not obscure. Ours is merely a descriptive formula. Certain passages[36] appear to us to be far from what we understand by poetry. We shall quote one or two later on, but, for the present, give only a few references as a footnote. It has already been shown that, owing to dominance in him of thought and reflection over feeling and emotion, his poetry is from its very beginning marked by intellectuality and that problems are actually discussed in an argumentative Popean style. Debates in verse thus constitute his individual manner throughout, connecting *The Testament* with even his *Prometheus.*

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[32] *Cf.* Specially—"Now any deficiency
is more discernible in an object known than in
a thing unknown to us, and in the discussion of it
there is better likelihood of agreement."

(ll. 204-7, Book IV of Testament of Beauty). *Cf.* also IV. 207-361 and 688-845 (especially 769-792 and 825 to 833) for arid discussion. Similarly in page 140 preceded by the regular debate (between the hero and the Bishop of Glastonbury, appropriately named, in III and XIV) at pp. 100-107 of Nichols' P. P.

For Bridges' "geometrical demonstration" compare IV. 155-182.

[33] *Cf.* III. 365-384 and New Verse Vol. Nos. XII, XIII, and also III, IV, VI and VII.

[34] I. 393-410; 713-21; 743-54. Book II. 11; 464-508; 531-540; 640-50; 693-715; 882-926. Book III. 87-150 (for "pure poetry" ll. 90-103 are matchless). It appears to us that this element is more striking in Nichols (with whom the late Poet-Laureate challenges a comparison).

[35] Book IV. 372-380 (typical). We doubt whether this is poetry. Even Meredith, so intellectual, never goes to such a length. Swinburne found Jonson stiff but what would he say to this? This stiffness (except in No. VII) is less visible in his *New Verse* not to speak of earlier productions. It seems to have grown upon him after 1921.

[36] *E.g.*—II. 708-24, 769-73, 863-7; III. 169-74, 182-83 (bad prose), 178-83, 259-66 : IV. 123-130, 781-92; 834-77 (specially 860-65). It is very significant to note that even this important aspect of his manner is anticipated in *Prometheus* (ll. 395-411) and more

Some of the new features of his growing *manner* reflected in the second phase (as in *New Verse* of 1921) have been noted under " actualities " (page 416, *Calcutta Review,* June). These are further developed in *The Testament* (1929).

These actualities, again, comprise the way in which he utilizes in poetry his vast and varied knowledge of all available scientific theories, discoveries, and even investigations and interrogations characterising the twentieth century. The result is an impression of a new *composite artistic manner.* Passages of *partially emotionalised* scientific knowledge, reading like science (rather than poetry) in verse, as often in Lucretius, occur in close juxtaposition with fine, beautiful, exquisitely melodious descriptive or illustrative ones, constituting pure poetry embodied in sensuous rich imagery which possess all the flavour of the thrilling poetry of Keats, Shelley or Swinburne, and surpass the art of Tennyson or convey to the reader the idea that the Miltonic simile has once more been restored to life in a new environment of modern science.

Like Meredith, he too is, we detect, in intimate touch with Mother Earth.

prominently in Later Poems, No. 14 (To Robert Burns—An Epistle on *Instinct*), Stanzas 5 to 9, of which the last alone is quoted—

> " But Instinct in the beasts that live
> Is of three kinds ; (Nature did give
> To man three shakings in her sieve—
> The first is Racial.
> The second Self-preservative
> The third is Social." (Page 387, Poetical Works, Oxford Edn.)

Is any remark necessary on such a piece of flat prose? Here Bridges beats Wordsworth.

Experiments in versification, begun in *New Verse*, continue and yield richer results. His diction, all a scholar's, too evinces the same continuity and growth. Wordsworth, in theory and practice, rebelled against the " correct school " and only wanted to vindicate the claims of the language actually used by the common people (under certain conditions imposed by the needs of art). But Bridges gives fuller play to actuality here; and his diction, true to the actuality of his own age, becomes scientific, nay technical, and if simple, simple in that special way and by a simplicity ensured by perfect sincerity. The keynote is furnished by his ideal—" to be myself is all I need " (*Growth of Love*, son. 2-1-12). Once, later in 1914, we find him addressing Burns thus—

" Blithe Robbie Burns, we love thee well
Because thou wert so like thysel' : "

[*New Verse,* XXI. *A Toast for Greenoch Club Dinner, January, 1914.*]

In *The Testament of Beauty* (IV. 999-1002) we have—

" for
every man, whom Beauty hath laid beneath her spell, ...
feel about to express some mintage of himself."

* * * *

That explains all his peculiarities in *The Testament* that we notice. How would Arnold as a critic have appreciated the perfection of sincerity in this artistic manner which, it must be recognised however, sets up a modern type of poetic diction, surely not correct but as surely artificial in its new artistry! Elsewhere I have referred to this idiosyncracy (page 394, *Calcutta Review,* June). Here I shall give a few samples—first from the *New Verse* and next from *The Testament* :—

Bible-thought, dutiful-desperate, love-names, dream-stream, fire-flocks of eternity, boundless nomadry of the stars, the Never-the-same repeating again and again, storm-spredd cloke, rank musk-idiot, penful of little scazons.—*New Verse.*

Euristic vision of mathematical trance, "Atomic, Organic, Sensuous, and Self-conscient" (single line of verse!), a foregon conclusion of illachrymable logic, "they neither wrote nor wrought thougt not nor created" (fine instance, no doubt of "sound and sense" yet Popean in epigrammatic antithesis), discerptible in logic, autarchy of self-hood, ground-root folly of this pitous philanthropy, proliferateth freely, the senses ministrant on his apperception, a dizzy buordon haunteth the sweet cymes, farrago of incongruous kickshaws, interchange of transmitted genes, muliebrous dump which gave Catullus pause, in quest of some system or mappemoud, penetralia of ethic lore.

Last (simply because one must stop somewhere) but not least—

> "Consider then their task, those unimaginable
> infinit co-adaptations of functioned tissue
> correlated delicately in a ravel'd web
> of unknown sensibilities * * *"............!!
>
> (T.B., II. 275-78.)

Bridges in his own way is occasionally very humorous. But his humour evidently never suggested to him that his neologism (how catching infection is!) might tempt a reader to quote from his own poem "To Catullus" (*New Verse*, XXIV)—

> "Would that you were alive to-day, Catullus!
>
> * * * *
>
> Only to justify the outlay
> Of your most horrible vocabulary"——

on something not very much less horrible!

We bear in mind the poet's view about inadequacy of ordinary language (IV. 1178-80), which distinguishes him from Wordsworth, expressed finely; *viz.*, that "man's language must upgrow from makeshift unto mastery of his thought."

This, I contend, is not want of admiration for a really great artist. We yield to none in that. It is certainly not irreverence towards a recently departed soul so worthy of loving regard both as a poet and a gentleman. We simply want to take our stand on this side of idolatry. No one can appreciate more heartily than we do the rich and spontaneous profusion of what Dryden calls " God's plenty" with which *The Testament of Beauty* is, considered even as " pure " poetry, magnificently endowed. " Craftsmanship," as Morris holds, " may be all." The style too is the man. Every great poet is an innovator. So is Marlowe ; so Shakespeare ; and Milton. Bridges is fully entitled to his own suitable (perhaps even agreeable) manner.

Mannerism.

But is there no such thing as mannerism ? Do we not condemn Browning for his ?—even Tennyson for his mannerism and Arnold for his unemphatic repetitions-trick? "*Victorian*" came to be in Bridges day a by-word, not merely because of the Queen's age being "stuffy" as Georgian highbrows in their easy and cheap contempt for the past may affect to imply. And the Georgian should remember that it too will have a posterity not less capable to weigh things in the balance of criticism and bound to be impartial. Bridges' mannerism is an illustration of the cultural inheritance I have been at pains to emphasize in showing his artistic "ancestors," though he assiduously built it up as a scholar with fastidious care to make it a "personal " tradition as it were. He persuaded himself as an artist that it was due to his culture and " in keeping too."

Now compare—

"(1) And ever as to earth he neareth, and vision cleareth of all that he feareth, and the enemy appeareth" (ll. 513-14).

(2) "Once names of terror and furious bombast, foremost men humbled, as were the seventy kings who with their thumbs and their great toes cut off, fingered the crumbs beneath Adonibezek's table"' (ll. 608-11)—

Sound echoing sense with a vengeance !

How interesting it is to study this habit gradually growing upon our poet unconsciously which to use his method of interpretation may be called a more complex and developed *instinct* (which is made the basis in man's evolution to spiritual exaltation in this last new *Testament* of the new century). It is (to use a familiar word) a "gesture" approved by his Instinct of Propriety, "in keeping" with the modern age as much as his own ideally constructed self. It is "sublimated" self-regard and imposed by his own peculiarity as a fetter—only done "*inconsciently.*" We raise no objection to the idiosyncracy of new spelling, rejection of initial capital letters, practical abolition of punctuation, even minting of queer words or equally queer use made of old words (*e.g.*, Stomach Emeritus in III. l. 119 which though not humorous is at least *wit*-ty) and the like. We do not fail to appreciate such mannerism as in

" What man deigneth ear
to his grovelling tale? His gluttony rotteth and stinketh
in the dust-bin of Ethic " (III. 138-39).

where the effect produced by *explosive consonants* is admirable in this terse sketch of "the epicure," very like a cameo-painting. He is extraordinarily successful in beautiful *single lines* of verse (which also is a praiseworthy form of mannerism) of which we have plenty in this last poem. One or two instances will do —"in the whirr of its multitudinous hurry it hummeth like the bee" (III. 379-80), which indeed gives us "a new poetry of toil" (l. 374). "Remotest orient lands whose cock-crow is our curfew " (III. 346-47). His exquisite workmanship is remarkably proved by III. 365-84, particularly in the *cadenced* music of 371-3 and fine use of "explosive consonants in 367-69 which must be quoted :—

" that in the sinister torpor of the blazing day
clicketeth in heartless mockery of swoon and sweat,
as 'twer the salamandrine voice of all parch'd things:
and the dry grasshopper wondering knoweth his God "
(ll. 370-73).

Again

" where reapers, bending to the ripen'd corn,
were wont to scythe in rank and step with measured stroke,
a shark-tooth'd chariot rampeth biting a broad way,
and jerking its high swindging arms around in the air,
swoopeth the swath" (ll. 365-69).

In his essay on poetic diction reference is made to the Romantic Revolt against the *irrational* diction of the "correct school " and to the dislike of the poets of his age towards traditional forms or the so-called literary forms, so conventional. Here he pleads for simple terms (such as fatherly for paternal), restoration of old English words (*e.g.*, inwit, wanhope) which will lend "subtlety" to expression of ideas, moderation in the desire to avoid the commonplace, the grand style of Milton or of Shelley's *Adonais*, having the stamp of Hellenic culture, and against imitation of Burns' *dialectical* manner. All this is wise and suggestive of valuable innovation from a professed innovator.

Thought, he holds, must determine diction and he adds finally, "in æsthetic no property (used in. the dramatic sense of the word) is absurd if it is in keeping, different properties being indispensable for different imaginative efforts." This too is admirable. It ensures *individuality* in art—another result of the Renaissance.

I have carefully noted the sage words of the Poet in I. 698-704:—

" Knowledge accumulateth slowly and not in vain;
with new atainment new orders of beauty arise,
in thought and art new values" etc.

" Best is mature," he says next II. 715—let us add, in thought and artistic form as well.

The poet's inspiration according to new Psychology is the play of the unconscious, but his art is the product of consciously controlled activity without which inspired imaginings can have no form and balance. Dionysius vouchsafes the inner impulsive urge but Apollo must regulate this spontaneous surge with the logic of achievement. In *Orpheus* (To-day and To-morrow Series) we are told that matter relates to emotions, moral ideas, philosophical thought but form includes rhythm, balance, melody and movement. Even life tends inspite of its infinite variety to take symmetrical form. All this means "conscious" management. The future man will, we are made to believe, be a better craftsman—more artistic. Bridges very epigrammatically reminds us in his " loose *Alexandrines* " (ll. 848-50)

> " But highest Art must be rare as native faculty is,
> and her surprise of magic winneth favour of men
> more than her inspiration."

Then follows strong condemnation of fashionable art, inferior art staking her charm on ethic excellence (ll. 851-62).

While fully admiring the extraordinary artistic skill and beauty displayed by Bridges which charm us, we make bold to express our own opinion in the following manner. If we are "rushing in," the punishment will be ours too.

We admit that in *The Testament of Beauty* the thought is novel, more scientific than is usual with poets and that the poem's "*properties*" have been attempted to be made "in *keeping*." Yet is Bridges free from the charge he himself brings against Arnold's *Thyrsis?* Says Bridges—" it lacks passion, as if it handles emotions instead of their *compelling utterance,* the result being an impression of insincerity. The poem leaves the reader cold." As a whole nobody judges *The Testament of Beauty* thus. But a good portion of it is on a level with *Thyrsis.* And diction is not without its share of responsibility for creating an impression not surely of insincerity but of an artificiality of a *new order.* The effect here and there is—"to leave the reader cold." Let us heartily admire his classical reserve and restraint and be grateful that his wonderful art expresses "feeling devoid of any suspicion of spasmodic violence," inspite of the influence on him of the " Spasmodic school." Have we no right, therefore to soberly pause and enquire if feeling to be artistically thus expressed is *always* there. Elsewhere we have defended him from such a charge. Yet there is no inconsistency in what is indicated here with reference to his diction on which, again, a separate essay may be profitably written. We cannot exhaustively deal with the topic in our short study of his mind and art. which is really a great subject.

We have yet to treat of—(1) this new poem critically viewed as a whole, (2) Bridges as a poet and (3) his philosophy of life, after having offered a few critical comments on the theme of *The Testament of Beauty* as it is handled by our poet.

Critical comments:

Bridges' view of Evolution rejects materialism showing the dominance of his religious temper even though his knowledge of the sciences —the Biological ones particularly—is fully adequate in range and depth and equally accurate with rare exceptions.[37] His intimate personal note reveals his early Roman Catholic sympathies (I. 393-410) and Scriptural leanings (III. 855-64). He is scientific but not a rationalist. Far less is he a sceptic (I. 390-94). Hence the predominant spiritual note.

His two elementary motive forces, Self-hood and Breed, are as in Bergson,[38] expressions of the life force or *élan vital*—all-pervasive as an immanent principle. That philosopher has given by his interpretation of older mechanistic theories of Evolution a new turn to thought. It makes human existence not *subject* to change but change itself. Bridges utilises it in his new poem more scientifically than philosophically. Mr. Nichols' *Prometheus in Piccadilly* handles the same matter but lays greater stress on Bergson's theory of intuition[39] and that poet's manner is comparatively more *mystical.* Something more will have to be said on this question as the coincidence is, indeed, strange of a certain amount of parallelism between *Prometheus in Piccadilly* (1927) and *The Testament of Beauty* (1929), even in matters of detail. The modern evolutionary theory, explaining life (as Bridges does), is practically a more scientific and accurate form of the Socratic view. The Greeks before him in their pagan abandon freely indulged in *natural life.* He demanded self-control, self-analysis and definition of ideas. *The Testament* is simply full of such definitions (*e.g.*, I. 204-6, 458-60; II. 448, 842 and 845; III. 742, 1058, 1123-4; IV. 1-2, 374-6).

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[37] The modern biological idea of Nature's urge is referred to in I. 99-105 (with its allusion to the *actualities* of the Great War).

[38] *Vide* Mitchell's Translation of "Creative Evolution" (1911). Mr. Nichols also refers (P.P., IV. 1: The Divine Proem) to "creative urge" and in VI (page 179), on the Circle of Activity, Zeus in bidding farewell to Prometheus says—

" Thou hast yet a myriad paths to tread
* * *
Ere thou returnest to the secret calm;
* * * we who create
Have but one lot among us, gods or men:
Never from our creation to be freed
Till the last sunset cringe into its cave,"
etc.

Socrates enjoined cultivation of self-consciousness by reflection and introspection, whereas, Nietzsche for instance, is for the play of the unconscious. In Bridges' poem Reason regulates instincts. He eliminates operation of "multi-factors" (*i.e.*, chance) by emphasizing dominance of *one* factor, *viz.*, selfhood (*i.e.*, accepting Evolution as the key to man's life). Herein Bridges is more a Psychoanalyst than a Behaviourist, and accepts the Freudian idea of consciousness in man being a kind of after-growth in the Evolutionary process. Reason, though requisitioned as a regulative principle, is however considered to be something like an inert, if not imaginary, entity until helped by the senses.[40] The poet is not accurate in affirming a definite relationship among the three (as is his scheme) Instincts (one of which he avers is not primitive). Breed is with him the "foal" of Selfhood and sense of Beauty a product of the primary ones. At all events man, as the

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[39] Oddly enough Bridges incidentally and by way of argument glances at *intuition* where he says—(II. 804-11)

> "If so be then that Reason our teacher in all the schools,
> Owneth to existences beyond its grasp, whereon," etc.

[40] "Reason is insolvent to sense" (I. 157).

" highest study " of mankind, is studied not in Pope's way but *biologically*. Bridges relates Instincts to emotion through, however, the æsthetic sense. Selfhood, by being " thwarted," and Breed, by getting scope for free play, become transformed into emotion (of love). Accurate Science will not either enumerate or relate definitely the Instincts, as has been done in this poem. Again less importance has been attached to Environment than to Heredity.[41] Instincts according to latest theories, are habits not of individuals but of the race—essentially irrational—useful for the biological end of self or race preservation. Freud gives to what Bridges names as Breed exaggerated importance, and the poet accepts Freud's lead here: "Scientific minds," says he, "in search of truth digest assimilable hypotheses." Primeval instincts—inherited dispositions—are powerful in moving man but Freud considers a great part of man's mental life to be impersonal and so beyond control. Desires and fear belong to the Unconscious. Bridges seems to differ here. What he calls "conscience," again, is with psychoanalysts a question of degree, man never being wholly aware of his awareness. The major part of mind being "unconscious" forms man's other self as it were, these innate dispositions do not, as Bridges holds, lead to emotions though tentative classification of these impersonal forces can be made on the basis of biological ends

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[41] I. 340-90 implying leaning towards Neo-Darwinism. " Impercipient " Nature and men, brutal or divine, are essentially the same Nature is the foundation even of man's highest spiritual activity.

> " Man, in the unsearchable darkness, knoweth one thing
> that as he is, so was he made"—

says Bridges but Aristotle tells us that " the nature of man is not alone what he is born with, but what he is born for." In his " Prometheus, the Firegiver," Persephone arguing with Athena (pp. 57-59, Poetical Works, Oxf. Edn.) says regarding man' tendency :

> " His spirit setteth beauty before wisdom,
> Pleasures above necessities, and thus
> He ever adoreth flowers" (ll. 220-22)
> they forget
> The hour of hunger and other homely feast
> So they may call the delicate primrose " etc. (245-7).

(such as selfhood, or manner of "reaction" produceing fear or attraction, or the emotions of fear or love they may excite). We do not yet know whether Instincts, as Bridges alleges, are two, three or more in number, or how they are related to each other, and what their essence is. It has only been ascertained that Instincts are midway between pure reflex action and habit.

Heredity is used, no doubt, to explain man's æsthetic tastes impulses, desires and to some extent even beliefs (*cf.* Dr. Schiller's *Problems of Belief*). Abnormal psychology explains fear (even when it ultimately leads to awe) as an expression of repressed sex-hunger. But Mr. Russel has his doubts (*cf.* also III. 940-951 and Bridges' use of the Freudian " correlation characters of sex").

War and its morals may be traced to the hunting instinct just as sportsmanship to play instinct and socialism, politics and morals to the herd instinct. Bridges uses many of these theories. Kipling's imperialism may be an instance of "*descent*" due to abuse of the herd instinct as Bridges' war poetry with its exalted note of "*ascent.*" Patriotism and love demand greater study before final conclusions may be available. The problem of free will is more difficult. Bridges begins as a behaviourist but psychoanalysis converts him to an idealist. His is a biological[42] evolutionary "*poetry of man*" (distinct from that poetry as evolved from the 18th century to the end of the Victorian age) presented in a scientific and modern spirit. As an idealist he thinks human nature can be changed, improved, perfected as Shelley did along with Condorcet (III. 763 *et seq.* and I. 581-98).

We reserve our remarks on questions relating to " Ethick" as he calls them for the portion of this essay which will deal with his philosophy.

As against Tennyson's cock-sure " one far-off divine event " we have from Bridges a warning that we should confine ourselves to " *What is.*"

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[42] III, 205-219.

Here again we are reminded of what Mr. Nichols says in P. P. "On Creation."

Emphasis on "childhood wonder" is surely suggestive of the new idea of a *scientifically improved* future race of man. This leaves far behind Shelley's fervent, nay ecstatic, vision of regenerated or emancipated humanity, no better in essence than a fascinating or even inspiring abstract idea, based on hopes created by the Revolutionary era, and glorified into something transcendental by the influence of German Philosophers and Plato. Wordsworth's idealised "dalesmen" and "statesmen" cannot be anything approaching a universal symbol of humanity. Tennyson's idyllic and lovely creations are too local and his Arthurian group a hybrid. Hardy's men and women are too cold and hard, if not pessimistic. Some will consider Swinburne's to be a "decadent" type. Browning's men and women are more varied, robust, natural, optimistic, full of moral arduousness but more psychological specimens than representatives of the coming race of man.

Ours is a very rapid bird's-eye view which cannot be expected at all to do justice to a subject so vast. We have to rest content here with only a few hints given in a comparative form. Next to Socrates, Plato with Aristotle and Lucretius may be said to guide our poet who, however, are reinterpreted in this poem.

> " The vision of the Seer is truth's Apocalpyse
> yet needeth for our aid a true interpreter " (II. 11-12).

Here Bridges reveals his admiration for philosophy as also his (Miltonic) egotism. Other egotistic hints or statements can be easily enumerated but many of them, we admit, have the persuasive charm of his perfect sincerity which disarms criticism. Criticism certainly is not fault-finding yet Bridges teaches us as a critic—all great poets are in their way great critics as well, like Jonson, Dryden, Wordsworth, Shelley, Swinburne, Arnold, and L. Abercrombie—that there is no harm in the legitimate determination of the proportion of the roses to the thorns. We have simply taken that great poet-critic's lead.

Other important "conclusions" arrived at in the series of debates constituting *The Testament of Beauty* are :—

Conscience is a natural flower-bud (I. 414).

Religion (specially Christianity) instead of dwindling with the growth of modern culture does thrive and grow (I. 775-790).

The future race of men has been adumbrated in the child's or savage's intellectual wonder (I. 330) which Shelley possessed to some extent (IV. 515-16).

Exactly the same was the case with his prototype Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682), whose manner reappears in this twentieth century *Religio Medici* (Browne's published in 1643) in such passages as—

> " And since we observe in all existence four stages—
> Atomic, Organic, Sensuous, and Self-conscient—
> and must conceive these in gradation, it was no flaw
> in Liebnitz to endow his monad-atoms with Mind."
> (I. 427-30.)

> " Glory is opinion,
> the vain doxology wherewith man would praise God."
> (I. 597-98.)

> " But if 'tis ask'd to name what special function it was
> that fell sequester'd out of Adam in his last rib,
> and which, when launch'd by Reason on his sea of troubles,
> should be his perigoric and comforting cure,—
> 'twas no unique, ultimately separable thing,
> as is a chemic element;" etc. (III. 924-940.)

Sir Thomas Browne of Pembroke College, Oxford (where he graduated M. A. in 1629 and took his medical degree in 1637), whom Taine characterises as 'a naturalist, a philosopher, a scholar, a physician, and a moralist,'' was a versatile genius who freely moved about in the world of Plato, Aristotle, the Christian Fathers, the Schoolmen and was one of the richest products of the Pagan Renaissance, presents in his *Faith of a Physician* a parallelism with *The Testament of Beauty.* One may point out in this case the *differences* in their resemblance as we have just referred to the *resemblances* in difference between Bridges and Mr. W. B. Nichols.

(*To be continued.*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

Reviews

A Sketch of Hindi Literature—By Edwin Greaves. Published by the Christian Literature Society of India.

The present book is a welcome addition to the existing scanty literature on the subject, which, so far as I am aware, consists of the following works.

(1) Sir George A. Grierson's Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan (2) Keay's Hindi Literature (Heritage of India Series), (3) The introductory remarks of Rai Bahadur Lala Sita Ram, B.A., on the authors and their works in the Hindi Selections in 7 volumes published by the Calcutta University, (4) The Misra Bandhu Vinod by the three Misra brothers, Sj Ganesbehari Misra, Sj Syambehari Misra and Sj. Sukdeobehari Misra, and (5) The discourse on Hindi Literature which serves as an introduction to the Sabda-Sagar, a big Hindi Dictionary published by the Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha. The first three books named above are in English and the last two in Hindi.

Sir George Grierson's book is the earliest and is based mainly on the Sivasinha Saroj, a work of great value, by Thakur Sivasinha Sengar, containing biographical notes on 1,000 Hindi poets with short extracts from their works. The Saroj mentions a work of the kind written by Kalidas Trivedi (b. 1693) named Kalidas Hazra containing an anthology of Hindi poetry collected from authors who lived between 1424 and 1719 A.D. The Misra Bandhus have generously acknowledged their indebtedness to the work of Thakur Sivasinha although they brought the results of their indefatigable labours and their own independent judgment to bear upon their excellent and exhaustive works. Mr. Keay's is a small book, but it contains all that is of use to the general reader. The subject has been handled very ably in it.

In the book under review the subject-matter has been divided into eight chapters, of which the first gives a short history of the growth and development of the Hindi language, echoing the views of Sir George Grierson and a few others, who divide the Prakrits and the Modern Aryan vernaculars of India into an Inner and an Outer group. Then follow some general considerations on Hindi literature suggesting its division as follows:—

1. The Early Period—From 1200 to 1400 A.D.
2. The Constructive Period—From 1400 to 1580 A.D.

3. The Elaborative Period—From 1580 to 1700 A.D.

4. The Static Period—From 1700 to 1800 A.D.

5. The Revival and Transformation Period—From 1800 A.D. to the present time.

The subsequent chapters of the book have been arranged according to this plan. The author has, however, introduced, very fittingly, between the Early Period and the Constructive Period, a chapter on Hindi Prosody, *Bhāva*, *Ras* and *Alankār*. The concluding chapter, which is the eighth, contains the author's views on the future of Hindi.

Most of the general remarks in Chapter I are very sound. I quote below some of the author's views—" In Hindi literature there is much to evoke genuine admiration and yield keen pleasure; there is not a little of high level of moral earnestness and of religious emotion and passion, but this high level has not always been maintained. At certain periods and among certain coteries of writers low ideals and sheer sensuousness have dangerously threatened the sound progress of the literature. Trivialities, tricks, style and paltry ambitions of writers to display their own cleverness have been more than menaces." "Originality either of subject or treatment is not one of the striking features of Hindi literature * * * Before the last hundred years the subjects treated of were distinctly restricted in their range." " In many instances the originality found pertains rather to form of expression than to the subject-matter or general treatment. And in the case of the great majority of writers conventionality of form of expression is by no means studiously avoided; as a matter of fact, conventional phrases and metaphors appear to possess a peculiar attraction for Hindi writers."

Chap. II: The Kumārpāl Charit has been called a Hindi poem. But it was written in the later Apabhransa Prakrit by Hemchandra.

Chap. III: In his attempt to explain *Bhāva* and *Ras*, the author confesses that these are unfamiliar to Europeans. He is not very happy in his exposition of the two terms. The first is, I venture to suggest, the cause and the last the effect *Sthāyi bhāva* is the raw material and *Ras* is the finished article made from it.

About the love depicted in Hindi poems the author says, " In many cases, the love lacks the essential conditions which ennoble the passion in Western eyes. The heroine, according to the customs of the country is precluded, as wife or widow from encouraging the advances of the lover." The Hindus think they are very happy as they are, and do not deplore their customs in this respect.

The author has next tried to give a brief outline of Hindi Prosody, which he has done fairly successfully within the limited space at his disposal. His meaning is not very clear when he says (page 30), "it is not allowed for one instant of a syllable to belong to one section and the other instant to another," for I am not aware if a Hindi long syllable is divisible as such into two instants. Then again, the second and fourth sections of a *Soratha* (page 31) rarely rhyme with each other as he says.

Chap. IV: I do not think that the poems of Vidyāpati (page 38) were ever translated into Bengali. They might have been modified to some extent in passing through the lips of successive generations of Bengali reciters.

Devout Vaishnavs will be shocked to hear Rādhā spoken of as the *mistress* of Krishna (page 52). The materialistic mind of the European is unable to grasp the esoteric significance of Rādhā and Krishna. The Vaishnav conception is that the absolute self, sick of singleness and inaction, manifests himself as Personal God and evolves out of Himself Prakriti or Cosmos to enjoy her companionship and to work jointly with her. The infinite changes in the phenomenal world are so to speak the dalliances of Purusha (Personal God) with Prakriti. Krishna is Purusha and Rādhā represents Jivatma, the essence of Prakriti. Their sports are the themes of the Vaishnav poets.

Chap. V: The writer's estimate of Behari of Satsai fame is unexceptionable. I agree with him in thinking that Behari can claim credit as a very clever epigrammatist, but that that alone does not entitle him to the high place assigned to him. Where is the appeal in a Doha of his to the heart?

In page 68 the author says, the writers of the Misra Bandhu Vinod give him (Behari) the fourth place among Hindi writers, only giving precedence to Tulsi Das, Sur Das and Lal Kavi." Evidently "Lal Kavi" is a mistake for "Deva Kavi."

At the end of this Chapter the author brings to our notice a prose work of the Pre-British period, hitherto unknown. It is a commentary on Bhartrihari's *Sringar Satak* which appeared in the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, September, 1917.

The period covered by Chap. VI, *viz.*, 1700 to 1800 A.D. has been called the static period, because there was practically no genuine development or growth. The Misra Bandhus will hardly acquiesce in the justice of the nomenclature and will maintain that a fairly high level of art was still maintained. I venture to think that the output, though not deficient in quantity, was much inferior in quality, being a repetition of what had already been said by previous writers.

Chapter VII opens with a discussion of the period since 1800 A. D. The author rightly says that the outstanding features of this period are the growth of Hindi prose literature, the much wider range of the subjects of literary composition and the dissemination of knowledge caused by the multiplication of books due to the establishment of the printing press.

I miss, however, the name of Insha Allah, who preceded Lallaji Lal as a writer of Hindi prose.

The concluding chapter deals with the Future of Hindi. The author's advice is sound. I have, however, noticed a common peculiarity in the European writers on the Hindi language and literature, *viz.*, that they are impatient of the use in Hindi of Sanskrit words. May I humbly request them to find out what percentage of Greek and Latin words is to be found in the English language and why they were introduced into it? A language still in its infancy has not the wherewithal to clothe its ideas and must draw upon its present language for the material necessary for the expression of the wide range of ideas in all departments of literature in the present advanced state of civilization.

The defects pointed out above are very trifling and dwindle into insignificance when compared with the excellence of the work. I can unhesitatingly assert that the book, sketch though it has been called, is a work of great value.

N. Sanyal

Prophet Muhammad and His Teachings—By Ahmad Shafi and Moulana Yakub Hasan. Published by G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras.

In this very brief sketch, Ahmad Shafi, the author, has made an attempt to present in an unvarnished and straightforward manner a bare outline of the chief incidents of the busy and crowded life of the Prophet of Islam. There are two phases of the life of the Prophet—civil and military. The European Orientalists who have written biographies of the Prophet, have generally speaking emphasized the military aspect of his life to such an extent that they have reduced the Prophet to the level of an adventurer with imperialistic ambitions. The civil phase which forms the essential portion of his life has been painted in such a manner as indicates that it only forms a prelude to his military successes. The author has tried in this short sketch to rectify this error to some extent.

Maulana Yakub Hasan has written the portion containing his teachings with selections from the Quran and sayings of Muhammad. This has rendered the work extremely useful. Moulana Sahib points out the Quran was revealed to the Prophet in the course of 23 years. A sort of trance used to come over him and after it passed away, the Prophet used to send for one of his followers who could write down the verses that were revealed to him, he himself not knowing how to read and write. Some of the chapters in the Quran were revealed in their entirety at one time and in one trance, but other chapters were revealed in different times and at different places. This incident, if true, is highly miraculous. This makes the Prophethood of Muhammad a fact of unquestionable certainty.

The book, though small contains matters which are highly interesting. It ought to be a constant companion to students. The get-up of the book is not bad.

A. GUHA

A Short Life of Apollonius of Tyana—By M. Florence Tiddeman.—Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India.

The author has done a great service in publishing a highly religious but generally unknown life of Apollonius of Tyana by collecting materials from different sources who appeared upon the stage of the Western world in the first century A.D. Apollonius must have been one of the greatest travellers of antiquity. We learn that after leaving Nineveh, Apollonius stayed in Babylon, visiting different cities and centres in the neighbourhood, thence to the Indian frontier, probably by the Khyber Pass, as Taxila is the first city mentioned—and finally he spent four months at the "Monastery of the wise men." This was probably at Nepal. After this he visited Babylon, Nineveh, Antioch, Selencia, Ionia, Smyrna and Troy. He spent some years in Greece, and in the time of Nero he was in Rome. In A. D. 66 Nero by a decree sent away the philosopher from Rome. Then he visited Spain, Africa, Sicily, and other important places of the then known world and founded the so-called magnetic centres in various countries. As he possessed miraculous powers, he is taken especially by the Theosophists as the second incarnation of Christ. As to the kind of food we should eat he held that "all food that had animal life in it densified his mind and made it impure and what he considered the only pure form of food is that which the earth produced, fruit and vegetables". Indian yogis also maintain the same view. The Chhandogya Upanisad proclaims in loud voice. आहार शुद्धौ सत्वसंशुद्धिः, सत्वसंशुद्धौ ध्रुवा स्मृतिः। When asked by the Pontifex Maximus Telesinus, as to the subject of his prayer in the temples, he replied, "I pray that righteousness may rule, the laws remain unbroken, the wise be poor and others rich, but honestly." The book though of small size contains excellences which are of the highest order. We can safely recommend it to the educated public. The get-up of the book is not bad.

A. GUHA

Indian States under British Protection—By P. L. Chudgar, Bar.-at-Law. Cr. 8vo, pp. 240.

In these pages Mr. Chudgar, a lawyer and a member of the Indian States Peoples' Delegation, professes to give a clear survey of ~~the~~ personal rule of the Indian Princes and the evils arising therefrom. The book is the result of a careful study and the mass of evidence collected is bound to make an impression on the public mind. The question of the status of Indian Princes in the coming political re-organisation of India is an important one and no settlement of the Indian question can be satisfactory until and unless the grievances of nearly 80 millions of Indians are redressed.

The condition of the subjects of the Indian states is hardly enviable. They are compelled to live under a system which is more than antiquated and which cannot be changed at their instance owing to the prowess and authority of the paramount power which is pledged to maintain an anachronic condition in the interests of a set of men, who would have otherwise mended their manners and methods. The British protection of the Indian princes makes them a set of tyrants accountable to none and having no moral obligation to their subjects.

Such a state of things cannot and perhaps will not last and it is high time that these princes should take care to clean their own houses. With their own internal autonomy and personal expenditure guaranteed, they must prepare themselves to join the coming Indian federation, rather than clamour for the perpetuation of personal power.

Mr. Chudgar's arguments and exposition of facts are clear and his conclusions are moderate. Every one ought to go through this little volume.

N. C. B.

Ourselves

INDIAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

The fourteenth session of the Indian Economic Conference will be held at Lahore early in January, 1931, under the presidency of Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., Barrister-at-Law, Minto Professor of Economics, Calcutta University. The subjects selected for discussion are: (1) The Theory of Distribution, (2) Credit and Banking Problems in India, and (3) Indian Labour Problems. The last date for the acceptance of papers by Mr. R. M. Joshi, Secretary, Indian Economic Association, is the 15th September, 1930. If any papers are to be sent after that date, they must be in the form of 100 printed copies which must reach Prof. D. N. Bhalla, University of the Punjab, Lahore, not later than the 1st December, 1930. No papers will be accepted after the 1st December next. Papers must not exceed in length 10 printed pages of the Indian Journal of Economics (published from Allahabad). In case any papers exceed this maximum length, the writers will have to pay the extra cost of printing.

* * *

RESULT OF THE MATRICULATION EXAMINATION, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Matriculation Examination, 1930, was 16,619, of whom 16,433 actually sat for the examination. The number of candidates who passed the examination is 10,296, of whom 4,126 passed in the First Division, 4,911 in the Second Division and 1,259 in the Third Division. The percentage of passes is 62·86.

* * *

RESULT OF THE I.A. EXAMINATION, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Arts, 1930, was 3,892, of whom 3,732 actually sat for the examination. The number of candidates who passed the examination is 1,841, of whom 492 passed in the First Division, 967 in the Second Division and 382 in the Third Division. The percentage of passes is 49·6.

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RESULT OF THE INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION IN SCIENCE, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Science, 1930, was 3,514, of whom 3,352 actually sat for the examination. The number of candidates who passed the examination is 1,554, of whom 654 passed in the First Division, 763 in the Second Division and 137 in the Third Division. The percentage of passes is 46·4.

* * *

RESULT OF THE L.T. EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the L.T. Examination, held in April, 1930, was 10, of whom 9 passed and 1 failed. Of the successful candidates 4 passed with distinction.

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RESULT OF THE B. T. EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the B. T. Examination, held in April, 1930, was 90, of whom 77 passed, 1 was absent and 12 failed. Of the successful candidates 17 passed in the First Division.

* * *

RESULT OF THE FINAL M.B EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Final M.B. Examination (New Regulations), held in April, 1930, was 244, of whom 79 passed, 159 failed, 6 were absent and 1 was expelled. Of the successful candidates 6 obtained Honours in Midwifery.

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RESULT OF THE D.P.H. EXAMINATION, MAY, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the D.P.H. Examination, Part II, held in May, 1930, was 5, of whom 3 passed and 2 failed.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1930

BEETHOVEN AT HOME [1]

A most famous musician; one who has been regarded as the colossus of modern music, as he most assuredly is of instrumental music.

Has not our own *amour-propre* something to do with the sense of gratification we feel when we please—and are welcomed by—some cross-grained or ill-disposed person, far more than when we receive like attentions from some one who possesses all sorts of good qualities? To carry the comparison further, if a dog that does not belong to us is surly and snappish, and yet fawns upon us, we think far more kindly of him than we do of the good-tempered animal that responds to our call with every mark of affection.

The impression produced upon me by Beethoven was somewhat of this nature. I was a great admirer of his genius and knew his works by heart when, in 1809, as member of the Privy Council,—Napoleon being engaged in war with Austria,—I was commissioned to bear to the Emperor the deliberations of the council. Notwithstanding my prompt departure I reflected that, should the French army seize upon Vienna, I ought not to neglect the opportunity of seeing Beethoven. Accordingly I requested Cherubini to write me a letter of introduction :

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[1] Authorised translation from The Baron de Trémont. The Baron de Trémont, two years before he died, "very respectfully offered to the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris six volumes of souvenirs, to be deposited there after my death, simply requesting that these six volumes be kept integral, and not lent to any one outside the Bibliotheque." The above article forms part of this collection.

"I will give you one for Haydn," he replied, "and you will be welcomed by that excellent man, but I will not write a single word for you to give to Beethoven. I should 'but pity myself for the fact that he had not received some one I had recommended. Bethoven is an ill-bred cub !"

Consequently I appealed to Reicha. "I fear," he replied, "that any letter from me will be useless to you. Ever since France has become an empire, Beethoven detests both Emperor and Frenchmen alike. To such a degree is this the case that Rode, the first violinist in Europe, when passing through Vienna on his way to Russia, remained there a whole week without succeeding in being received by him. He is a rough and peevish misanthrope, and, to give you an idea of the slight importance he attaches to common civility or the rules of good breeding, I may inform you that the Empress (the Princess of Bavaria, second wife of Francis the Second) one morning sent for him to call upon her, whereupon he replied that he would be busy the whole day but would try to see her on the morrow."

Such warnings made me feel certain that all my efforts to become acquainted with Beethoven would prove ineffectual. I was unknown, without reputation ; nor had I any claim upon him. Indeed, I must be all the more unwelcome seeing that I was entering a Vienna that was being bombarded for the second time by the French army, and, in addition, that I was a member of Napoleon's Privy Council. All the same, I was determined to make the attempt.

So I called upon the composer and on reaching the door, reflected that my visit was ill-chosen as I had an official visit to pay afterwards. As ill luck would have it, he was lodging on one of the ramparts whose destruction, Napoleon had ordered. A mine had just been sprung beneath his very windows.

The neighbours pointed out where he lived. "He is at home," they told me, "but is without servant just now. It is very doubtful whether he will open to you."

I rang three times, and was on the point of going away when a very ugly man, of surly aspect, opens the door and asks me what I want.

"Is it M. Beethoven whom I have the honour of addressing?"

"It is, Monsieur! But I warn you," he said in German, "that I understand scarcely any French."

"I do not understand German any better, Monsieur," I replied, "but I am the bearer of a letter from M. Reicha, of Paris."

He looked at me, took the letter and requested me to enter. If I remember aright, the house contained only two rooms. In the first there was a recess, tiny and dark, which contained the bed. Everything was in a state of untidiness and disorder, and the floor was covered with splashes of water. There was also in the room a somewhat ancient grand piano, the top of which was covered with dust, as were also the sheets of music, both printed and manuscript, lying about. At the bed-side stood a small walnut table which bore signs that the inkstand had frequently been overturned. On it lay a number of rusty pens which would not bear comparison even with the post office variety. The seats, which were mostly of straw, were covered with various articles of clothing and with plates containing the remnants of the previous day's supper. Balzac or Dickens would continue this description for a couple of pages, telling in detail what the famous composer was wearing, but as I am neither Balzac nor Dickens, I confine myself to the statement: I was actually inside Beethoven's home.

I spoke only the most rudimentary German, though I could understand it a little. Nor was he in better case as regards French. I expected that, after reading my letter, he would dismiss me, and that our mutual acquaintance would go no further.

Still, I had seen the bear in his cage: and that was more than I could have expected. I was therefore greatly surprised when he again looked at me, placed the letter on the table without opening it, and offered me a chair. I was even more astonished when he began to talk. He asked me about my uniform, what particular function I was discharging in Vienna, how old I was, the object of my journey, whether I was a musician and intended to stay in Vienna for any length of time. I replied that Reicha's letter would explain all that far better than I could do myself.

"No, no, speak," he said, "but as I am very deaf, speak slowly; then I shall hear what you say."

I struggled desperately with the German tongue, while he showed himself very patient and indulgent: the result was the strangest mixture imaginable of bad German on my side and of bad French on his. After a little while we quite understood each other. The visit lasted three quarters of an hour. On leaving, he invited me to call on him again. I had actually made a conquest of Beethoven.

If you were to ask me how this came about, what answer could I give? Doubtless the cause might be found in the strangeness and oddity of his nature. I was young, polite, gentle in disposition; I was unknown to—and so formed a contrast with—himself. For some reason or other, he took a fancy to me, and, as sudden inclinations are seldom of a lukewarm character in such people, he gave me frequent rendezvous during my stay in Vienna, setting aside an hour—sometimes two—to talk with me alone. Whenever he had a servant, he told her not to open the door if any one rang, or, if he were playing the piano, to say that he was composing and was unable to receive any one.

A few musicians, whose acquaintance I had made, would scarcely credit all this. "Will you believe me," I said to them, "If I show you a note he has written me in French?"—"In

French? Impossible. He knows scarcely anything of the language nor can he even write German legibly! He is quite incapable of such an effort!" I proved that they were mistaken. "He must have conceived a real passion for you" they said, "what a strange character!"

This note—a precious document—I have had framed. Reverting to the opinion expressed at the beginning of this article, my *amour-propre* would probably have prevented me from doing so much for the good-natured Haydn.

Probably Beethoven's improvisations caused me the most vivid musical emotions I have ever experienced. I assert that unless one had heard him improvise *at his ease*, one can form but a poor conception of the vast range of his genius. As he was very impulsive, he would sometimes say to me, after striking a few cords: "I can do nothing to-day; we will postpone it for another time." Then we would discuss philosophy, religion or politics, but more frequently Shakespeare, whom he idolised, and all the time in a language that would have greatly amused listeners, had there been any.

Taciturn by nature, Beethoven was not brilliant or witty or animated in conversation. His thoughts found utterance by fits and starts; they were generous and lofty, though frequently not altogether just. Between himself and Jean-Jacques Rousseau there existed a common bond of erroneous judgment due to the fact that their misanthropic temperament had created a world after their own fancy, one that bore no true relationship to human nature or the actual state of society. All the same, Beethoven was well-informed. The isolation of his celibate life, his deafness, his frequent sojourns in the country, had induced him to take up the study of the classics. Adding to all this that singular though real interest which is the outcome of erroneous ideas expressed and maintained with the utmost sincerity, his conversation was seen to be at all events original and curious if not very interesting. And because he was so well-disposed towards myself, it was quite in accordance with his splenetic nature to prefer occasional contradiction rather than to have me always of the same mind as himself.

When he was in the right mood on the days when he improved, he was altogether sublime. He was enthusiastic and inspired, his songs and harmonies flowed uninterruptedly because, under the sway of musical feeling, he no longer thought —as with pen in hand—of seeking after effects ; they came rapidly, and of their own accord.

His playing of the piano was not correct and his manner of fingering was often faulty, the result being that the quality of the sound was neglected. But who could think of the instrumentalist? The listener was wholly absorbed by the performer's thoughts however his hands might express them.

I asked him if he would not like to visit France.

"I desired it ardently," he answered, "before she took to herself a master. Now, the longing is a thing of the past. For all that, I should like to hear in Paris the Symphonies of Mozart"—he mentioned neither his own nor those of Haydn— "which, so I am informed, are played better at the Conservatoire than anywhere else. But then, I am too poor to make the journey from simple curiosity, and for so short a time."

"I will take you with me,"—I offered.

"How could you think of such a thing? I could not agree to your incurring such expense on my account."

"Do not let that concern you. My travelling expenses are paid, and, as I travel alone, there is plenty of room for you in my carriage. If you will be satisfied with quite a tiny bedroom, I can place one at your disposal. Come, say yes. It would be well worth your while to spend a fortnight in Paris. Your sole expenditure would be for your return journey, and that would cost you less than fifty florins."

"Your offer is a tempting one. I will think of it."

On several occasions I urged him to make up his mind. His uncertainty was invariably due to his morose temperament.

"I shall be besieged with visitors, I expect?"

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"You could refuse to see them."

"Invitations will pour in upon me."

"You need not accept them."

"They will always be urging me to play...or to compose."

"You can reply to the effect that you have not the time."

"Your Parisians will say that I am a regular bear."

"What does that matter to you? Manifestly you do not know them. Paris is the home of liberty, of independence from the bonds of society. Remarkable men are welcomed there in whatsoever way they are pleased to show themselves, and should one of them,—especially if he be a foreigner—appear somewhat eccentric, that is the very reason why he is a greater success."

At last he held out his hand, and said that he would come with me. I was delighted: another case of *amour-propre*, doubtless. To accompany Beethoven to Paris, to put him up in my own quarters and introduce him to the world of music in the French capital, was indeed a sort of personal triumph, but alas, to punish me for my anticipated enjoyment, things were not destined to turn out as I had expected.

In accordance with the armistice of Znaim, the French army occupied Moravia, to which province I was sent as commissary of stores. There I spent four months. By the treaty of Vienna, the province was restored to Austria, and so I returned to Vienna, where I found Beethoven, still of the same mind. Expecting to receive the order to leave for Paris, I had to proceed at once to Croatia. There I stayed a year, at the end of which time I was appointed prefect of Aveyron. I was ordered to terminate a certain mission at Agram and then to proceed immediately to Paris, before going on to my new destination. Consequently, it was impossible for me either to pass by Vienna or to see anything more of Beethoven. He reflected much on the greatness of Napoleon and often spoke to me on the subject. Despite his moroseness, I saw that he admired

Napoleon's rise from so lowly a beginning; it flattered his own democratic ideas. He said to me one day:

"If I go to Paris, shall I be compelled to bow to your Emperor?"

I assured him that such would not be the case, unless he were asked to do so.

"And do you think he will ask me?'"

"I have not the slightest doubt he would, if he knew your worth, though, as a matter of fact, he is practically unacquainted with music."

The question made me reflect that, notwithstanding his opinions, Beethoven would have been flattered at receiving any mark of distinction from Napoleon. Thus does the pride of man lower itself before that which flatters it.

FRED ROTHWELL

THE AGRICULTURAL LAND IN ANCIENT INDIA

Opinion widely differs as to how far the agricultural land was land revenue—a tax or a rent property of the Crown, and whether the land revenue derived by the King was a tax or a rent. Vincent A. Smith observes: "The Native Law of India has ordinarily recognised agricultural land as being the Crown property and has admitted the undoubted right of the ruling power to levy a Crown rent or 'land-revenue' amounting to a considerable portion either of the gross produce or its cash value."[1] And in support of this, he quotes the following passage from the translation of the Arthasāstra.

"Those who are well versed in the śāstras admit that the king is the owner of both land and water and that the people can exercise their right of ownership over all things excepting these two."[2]

Mr. Jayaswal says that "it may be the native law of any other land; it is not certainly the native law of India."[3] He produces the original couplet of which Vincent A. Smith's quotation is a translation and shows that the English rendering is incorrect. The original couplet runs thus:

"राजा भूमे पतिर्दृष्टः शास्त्रज्ञैरुदकस्य च ।
ताभ्यामन्यत यद्द्रव्यं तत्र साम्यं कुटुम्बिनाम् ॥"

By 'पति' Jayaswal means 'protector' and translates the second line of the couplet as,—"Excepting these two (land and water), whatever property there may be, his family members have sameness of right therein."[4] He emphatically denies the feudal theory and for support draws our attention to Colebrooke's Essay on Mimāṁsā, to Nilakaṇṭha, Mādhava, Bhattapiṇḍa and

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[1] Early History of India, pp. 137-138.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 138 n.
[3] Hindu Polity, Part II, p. 181.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 182.

Kātyāyana, to Gupta Copper-plate title-deeds and also to the Jātakas.

Samaddar agreeing with Vincent A. Smith refers to the latter as his authority and quotes a couple of passages from the Greek writers. He finds an expression 'private lands' in the commentary of the Arthaśāstra, but labours to reconcile the expression by saying "we have to remember that the ancient Indian king could give away lands just as the Anglo-Saxon Kings could and did."[5] But Macdonell and Keith[6] have observed that the Greek writers are contradictory on the point; and Rhys Davids has pointed out that in royal grants, "the king granted not the land (he had no property in land), but the tithe due by custom, to the Government as yearly tax."[7]

In the Bṛhaspati Smṛti there is a remarkable passage which should not escape notice. It runs thus:

"When land is taken from one man by a king actuated by anger or avarice or using a fraudulent pretext and bestows on a different person as a mark of his favour, such a gift is not considered valid."[8]

This certainly presupposes absolute ownership by private persons, and also, that the king had not the power to dispossess a rightful owner of his property. If he did, it was not to be considered valid by the people. According to the Hindu view, monarchy is contractual, and the king's prerogative limited. The Milinda-pañha gives an exposition of the limited monarchy of kings.[9] In the Sāntiparva of the Mahābhārata, there is a passage which describes how the first king was elected on a contract: "In olden days, people approached Brahmā, the Creator, and asked for a king so that they might be protected against cheats, swindlers, robbers and thieves. Brahmā asked

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[5] Economic Condition of Ancient India, p. 57.

[6] Vedic Index, Vol. II, pp. 214-215.

[7] Buddhist India, p. 48.

[8] XIX, 22.

[9] The Milinda-pañha, 359. See also the Jātaka (edited by Cowell), Vol. I, p. 236.

Manu to take up the duty of protecting them. Manu declined saying that he was afraid he might commit wrong, as it was a difficult task to govern a kingdom and particularly to keep people on the path of virtue. Thereupon the people proffered that he would be entitled to a fourth share of their spiritual benefit and tenth share of grain, etc., assured him that sin would never touch him and solicited his protection in return." The ancient Aryans believed that the king was not the 'lord and master' of the people.[10] He was rather a servant; for "a king like a pregnant woman shall forego all pleasures of his own and only live for the well-being of his charge; and he takes as his own share a sixth part of the *income* of his subjects—*good* or *bad*—in exchange of his good government.[11] He was thus to take taxes, etc., only as a return of his services to the people; and we find Manu threatening, "A king who does not afford protection and yet takes his share in kind, his taxes, tolls and duties, daily presents and fines, will after death soon sink into hell.[12]

Private ownership of land is supported by many passages in the Law-books.[13] What constitutes the proprietary right is very clearly given in Bṛhaspati, IX, 3, 4. We have also numerous instances of gift and sale of land by private individuals. While dealing with 'Mortgage of land,' Bṛhaspati says, "When a field has been mortgaged to two creditors at the same time, it shall belong to that mortgagee who was the first to obtain possession of it. If both have possessed it for an equal time, it shall be held in common or shared equally by them. The same rule is ordained in the case of a gift or sale."[14] Making the gift of land has always been believed to be highly meritorious. "The merit of making the gift of a plot of land grows more and more every day like a drop of oil poured on water which expands itself in larger and larger eddies."[15]

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[10] See Jāt. No. 96.

[11] See The Agnipurāṇa, Chap. CCXXIII. *Cf.* Aśoka's P. E. IV.

[12] VIII, 307.

[13] Bṛhaspati VIII, 27; XI, 32, 34, 35; XIX, 17; Nārada, VI, 20; XI, 20, 21, 23, 24; Manu, IX, 52, 53, etc.

[14] XI, 34, 35.

Thus the theory that the agricultural land belonged to the Crown cannot stand in the face of all these evidences to the contrary. There is, however, a passage in Manu which implies that the owner was responsible to the king, if he failed to sow his land or if the crops were damaged due to his own neglect or that of his servants.[16] This meant only an economic benefit both from the standpoint of the owner of the land and of the state; and it would certainly be a mistake to try to assert anything more than that the king had no proprietary right on land with this qualification that no land was allowed to lie fallow permanently, and that he was entitled only to a defined portion of the gross produce as tax. Manu allows $\frac{1}{12}$, $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{6}$ part.[17] It was usually one-sixth. In the time of Chandra Gupta Maurya, the rate was one-fourth with an additional water rate of one-fourth. Huen Tsang says that in the time of Harsha, it was one-sixth. Land revenue was thus a tax--a tax somewhat similar to our modern income-tax and yet much different from it as the Agnipurāṇa explicitly points out,—"Like the Sun-god, the king would take in a portion of each man's earnings through the channels of his revenue only to pour it down in showers on the country for furtherance of the common weal." [18]

From the earliest times of Aryan civilisation, people held

[15] See the Agnipurāṇa, Chap. CCXI. See also the Matsya Purāṇa, Chap. 283, and the Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa, Chap. IX.

[16] See Manu, VII, 130 and also Āp., II, 28.

[17] VII, 130. Medhātithi, Kullukabhatta, Gobindarāga, Nandanāchārya and Rāghabānanda—Commentators of Manu,—are all unanimous that a sixth part of the harvest is the King's share. See also Gautama, X, 24-27; Vasistha, XIX, 26-27; Baudhāyana, I, 18, 1, 13, 15; Vishnu, II, 22-25, 29, 30; and Āpastamba, II, 26, 9.

[18] See Chap. CCXXXIX, 43.

their lands in well-marked holdings carefully measured off according to the standard of measurements prevailing in those days.[19] The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa gives a series of land measure which runs thus :

Interest of agricultural land safeguarded by division of labour and laws strictly enjoined by Law-makers.

10 Paramāṇus = 1 Parasūkshma
10 Parasūkshmas = 1 Trasareṇu
10 Trasareṇu = 1 Mahiraja (a particle of dust)
10 Mahirajas = 1 Bālāgra (hair's point)
10 Bālāgras = 1 Likhyā
10 Likhyās = 1 Yūka
10 Yūkas = 1Jabodara (heart of barley)
10 Jabodaras = 1 Yava (grain of barley)
10 Yavas = 1 Aṅguli (finger)
6 Aṅgulis = 1 Pada (the breadth of a foot)
2 Padas = 1 Vitasti (span)
2 Vitastis = 1 Hasta (cubit)
4 Hastas = 1 Dhanu or Dhanda (Staff) or 2 Nārikas.
2000 Dhanus = 1 Gavyūti
4 Gavyūtis = 1 Yoyana (nearly 7 miles)

Though the owners held land in separate well-marked holdings, there was no proprietary right against the community.[20] True, there is a passage in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa implying that a piece of land was given away as a sacrificial fee. But Rhys Davids has pointed out that " it was at once added that the Earth itself said—and mother Earth was a most dreaded Divinity—' No mortal must give me away.' " [21] In later times, however, we find positive instances of sale of land.[22] But we agree with Rhys Davids when he says that "we hear of no instance of a shareholder selling or mortgaging his share of the village field to an outsider, and it was impossible for him to do so at least without the consent of the village council." [23] It will be seen presently how in later times similar restrictions operated indirectly in safeguarding the interest of agricultural lands.

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[19] Rv, I, 110, 5. In Jāt, No. 276 also, we have a reference to measuring a field by means of a cord tied to a stick.

[20] See Buddhist India, p. 46.

[21] *Ibid*, p. 47.

[22] See the Jātaka, Vol. IV, p. 167.

With time population increased, and according to demand, waste land and forest clearings [24] were gradually brought under the plough. Nothing operated to throttle rural industries; in fact the provinces were alive with the bustle of manufacture and commercial undertakings.[25] And pressure on land was perhaps never anything so high as it is to-day. In the days of Manu, agriculture came to be restricted to a certain specified section of the people. Division of labour was clearly defined and it fell to the lot of Vaisyas to tend cattle, to trade and to cultivate land; and the king was enjoined to see that the Vaisyas carried on their occupations peacefully.[26] Laws on the division of labour were as follows :

"To Brāhmaṇas, the lord assigned teaching and studying the Veda, sacrificing for their own benefit and for others, giving and accepting of alms. The Kshatriya—he commanded to protect the people, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study the Veda, to abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures; the Vaisyas to tend cattle, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study the Veda, to trade, to lend money and *to cultivate land.* One occupation only the Lord prescribed to the Sudra, to serve meekly these other three castes."[27] Agriculture was forbidden to the two higher castes as will appear from the following verse : ".........a Brāhmaṇa or a Kshatriya living by a Vaisya-mode of subsistence, shall carefully avoid the pursuit of agriculture, which causes injury to many beings and depends on others."[28]

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[23] *Loc. cit.* pp. 46-47.

[24] Do., p. 47.

[25] See the Agnipurāṇa, Chap. CCXXXIX.

[26] Manu, VIII, 410.

[27] Manu, I, 88-91. *Cf.* Nār., I, 52-54; Yājñ., I, 118-120; Vishnu, II, 4-14; Āp., I, 1, 1, 5-6; Gaut., X, 2, 7, 49, 56; Vasistha, II, 13-20; Baudh, I, 18, 1-5. Also see the Agnipurāṇa, Chap. CLI, 6-9.

[28] Manu, X, 83.

One living by agriculture was forbidden to be entertained at a *Śrāddha,*[29] and though some people thought agriculture to be an excellent thing, it was blamed by the virtuous,[30] the reason being that the iron-faced block of wood smites the Earth and also the animals dwelling in the earth." [31] Hopkins explains that long before Manu's law-book was known, had arisen the famous Ahiṁsā doctrine of non-injury to living creatures and the objection to agriculture on the part of the priest is based—expressly on this ground in the law-books." [32] But references to Brāhmin-cultivators [33] are not wanting even in the time of the Buddha—the great apostle of the doctrine of *Ahiṁsā.* This was not, however, in conflict with the Hindu law-books ; for agriculture was not forbidden to them in times of distress, ordinarily though it was a criminal proceeding if one caste took to the occupation of another caste.[34]

Baden Powell says, "the Vaisya is represented by the merchant whose business is with trade and with buying grains and other goods. He is also regarded as the owner of flocks and herd. The cultivation of land is only casually thrown among his permissible occupations as a subsidiary matter. And even so, the expression used seems quite possibly to refer to agricultural land-holding not as a personal occupation, but as a means of employing capital."[35] This statement appears to err rather on the wrong side. The occupations of Vaisyas as enumerated in detail in the law-books will bear reproduction here :—

"After a Vaisya has received the sacraments and has taken a wife, he shall be always attentive to the business whereby he may subsist and to that of tending cattle. For, when the Lord of creatures (Prajāpati) created cattle, he made them over to the

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[29] See Manu edited by Bühler, p. 420. (The Manu Saṃhitā, III, 153.)

[30] *Ibid*, p. 106.

[31] Manu, X, 84. See also the Sāntiparva of the Mahābhārata, Chap. CCLII.

[32] India, Old and New, p. 211.

[33] See Jāt. Nos. 354, 389, 516 and others. Brāhmin Bharadwāja, who was converted by the Buddha, was a cultivator. Also see the Ayodhyākāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa.

[34] Nār., II, 55; the Agnipurāṇa, Chap. CCLII, etc.

[35] The Indian Village Community, p. 192.

Vaisya ; to the Brāhmaṇa and to the king, He entrusted all created beings. A Vaisya must never conceive the wish 'I shall not keep cattle' ; and if a Vaisya is willing to keep them, they must never be kept by men of other castes. A Vaisya must know the respective value of gems and of pearls, of coral, of metals, of cloth, of perfumes and condiments. *He must be acquainted with the manner of sowing seeds and of the good and bad qualities of fields* and he must perfectly know all measures and weights ; moreover, the excellence and defects of commodities, the probable profit and loss on merchandise, the advantages of different countries and the means of properly rearing cattle. He must be acquainted with the proper wages of servants, with the various languages of men, with the manner of keeping goods and the rules of purchase and sale. Let him exert himself to the utmost in order to increase his property in a righteous manner and let him zealously give food to all created beings.''[36]

Considering the importance attached to agriculture as the staple industry of the country, there can be no reason to doubt that "Vaisyas were particularly agriculturists,'' as Hopkins aptly remarks,[37] and as such their agricultural land-holding was certainly a professional occupation. Most probably, in the time of Manu and subsequently also, agricultural land was entirely in the hands of agriculturists. If, for the sake of argument, it is supposed that non-agriculturists still held land, it must also be substantiated that they managed to get their fields cultivated by mutual contract with cultivators ; for, all land must be cultivated, or there would be a loss in the king's revenue. Moreover, the law provided that when the owner was unable to cultivate his land himself, he should lose the right to have any interest thereof, and a stranger who might undertake its cultivation unchecked would be allowed to keep the produce. This law held also if the owner was dead or gone no one knows whither.[38] Again, in the Nārada Smṛti we find, "When the owner returns while the stranger is engaged in cultivating the field, the owner shall recover the field after having paid to the cultivator the whole expense incurred in tilling the waste. Where the owner is unable to pay for the expenses, a deduction of an eighth part shall be made till seven years have elapsed. But when the eighth year arrives, the owner shall recover the field cultivated by the other as his independent property." [39] Thus a land-owning non-agriculturist, if there was any, was practically in the grip of the cultivator, for if he failed to cultivate his land for even a year, it would be considered a half-waste ;[40] and a cultivator who tills the waste the year after, must be paid the whole expense incurred, thereby before the owner could have any right to get an interest on his land in the form of a share in the crop. It should be noted also, that in the days of Gautama, "The cultivators had their own corporations or unions." [41] In the days that followed, these factors must have operated greatly not only to restrict transference of land to non-agriculturists but also to discourage non-professional land-holding.

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[36] Manu, IX, 326-333. See also Hārita, II, 16; Parāsara, I, 60; Saṃkha I, 4; Atri, 358, etc.

[37] *Loc. cit.*, p. 212.

[38] See Nār. XI, 23. Also the Agni-Pur., Chap. CCLVII.

Litigation on land was discouraged, and boundary disputes whenever there arose, were settled by an arbitration board[42] except in cases where no local person conversant with the true state of things could be found. In such cases only the king himself fixed the boundary.[43] Decision usually rested with the neigh-

Nothing to show that cultivation of land by fragmentation was carried to an excess.

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[39] XI, 24, 25.

[40] See Nār., XI, 26. "A tract of land which has not been under cultivation for a year is called *Ardha khila* (half-waste). That which has not been under cultivation for three years is called *khila* (waste) and that which has not been under cultivation for five years is no better than a forest."

[41] Gautama, XI, 20-21.

[42] See Nār., XI, 9.

[43] *Ibid*, XI, 11. See also Manu, VIII, 265. Yāgñ., II, 153.

ours, the inhabitants of the same village or town, the other members of the same community and the seniors.[44] This prevented drainage of a considerable portion of agriculturists' money through law-courts, which could be invested as an agricultural capital and thus profitably employed on land. Not only that, the interest of land from the stand-point of agriculture was further safeguarded by rules on debt and usury. Usury in general, was condemned, so much so that the food of an usurer was forbidden to be taken.[45] Only a Vaisya was at liberty to get over a period of distress by practising usury.[46] The rate of interest was usually 80th part of a hundred in every month.[47] In cases where land was mortgaged, the debtor delivered the field to the creditor with this stipulation that "the mortgager should recover his pledge as soon as the creditor had fully realised his demand out of the mortgage, no matter whether he (the mortgager) contributed anything himself towards the realisation" [48] Agriculture, tending of cattle, trade and banking were the lawful occupations of Vaisyas, and they were particularly agriculturists. So, permitting them only to lend money on interest checked the land going out of the hands of the agriculturist class. The above law as laid down by Bṛhaspati clearly helped also to safeguard the position of the small peasant-proprietor; and if the land at all went out of his hands, it went to the bigger and wealthier neighbour-agriculturist with the result that there was a tendency to consolidation of agricultural land rather than its fragmentation. This also explains the fact that the absence of farming on a large scale which is so characteristic a feature of the present day was not perhaps strikingly so in ancient times. This inference which the above facts naturally force upon us can also be corroborated by references in the books [49] to a farmer possessing as many as five hundred ploughs and working a farm of thousand *Karisas* or eight thousand acres.

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[44] *Ibid*, XI, 2. Also Manu, VIII, 256, Yāgñ., II, 153.

[45] Manu, IV, 210 and 220.

[46] Nār., I, 111.

[47] Manu, VIII, 140; Nār., I, 99; Vasiṣṭha, II 51

[48] Bṛhaspati, XI. 24.

It has been admitted on all hands that cultivation by fragmentation is a greater evil than fragmentation of land by sub-division of holdings. Small holdings there were, but there is nothing to show that cultivation of land by fragmentation was carried to an excess. On the other hand, we find books speaking of partnership concerns in cultivation and also codifying laws to regulate such concerns. Bṛhaspati says, "Tillage should be undertaken by a sensible man jointly with those who are his equals in points of cattle, workmen, seeds and the like as well as implements of husbandry. When by the deficiency of one partner as to cattle or seeds, a loss happens to the produce of the field, it must be made good by him to all the husbandmen." [50] Jātaka No. 67 speaks of two brothers-in-law cultivating together and we find Khanā enjoining that, "for the interest of cultivation father and son, failing which brother and brother should join hands." [51] Indeed, joint-family system was another very important institution from economic standpoint. No member of a joint family needed insuring his life in an Insurance Co. with a view to making provision for his wife and children; for, he knew that after his death, his wife and children would be maintained equally honourably as during his life-time by his surviving brothers in return of the services that he had rendered to the family while he was alive. The village money-lender provided banking facilities; and debts whenever there was any necessity to run into them, were incurred on the joint responsibility of all the able-bodied members of the family. The savings of the members likewise went to the joint fund, and whenever required, the fund was employed to help one member or another according as he needed help, or in buying a property in which all the male members would have an equal share, no matter how much different the contribution of the individual member to the family fund might have been.

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[49] Brāhmin Bharadwāja is represented as having 500 ploughs. See also Jāt. No, 218. For a farm of 1,000 *Karisas*, see Jāt. No. 389.

[50] XIV, 21 and 25. See also Yāgñ., II, 262-268.

Vide Gupta Press Pañjikā.

True, Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba [52] say that if the property were divided, the land was equally divided amongst the sons. But Manu while discussing the question of inheritance does not mention land at all. Probably, thereby he meant to discourage subdivision of holdings. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Hindu laws of inheritance have a tendency to effect sub-division of holdings. But excessive subdivision was prevented if we suppose that in many cases, the property could advantageously be held jointly by all the sons instead of dividing it, while one son farmed it and shared the crops with the other owners. In such cases, where the field was made over to another on a special contract, the law said that the owner of the seed and the owner of the land were both considered as sharers of the crop.[53] This would be possible if only alternative occupations were available to the other sons. We know that agriculture was only one of the lawful occupations of Vaisyas. Tending of cattle, trade and money-lending were also open to them, and the other sons could profitably take to one or another of those occupations and thereby supplement the income of the family. There was thus nothing serious in the way of joint-family ownership of land and a consequent beneficial check to an excessive subdivision of holdings with its attending vices.

R. GANGULI

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[52] See Gaut., XVII, 5-17; Baudh., II, 2, 3; Āp., II, 6, 14.

[53] See Manu, IX, 53.

LYRICS FROM ELIZABETHAN DRAMATISTS

In the age of Elizabeth the art of song-writing was carried to perfection, and the lyrical poetry which one finds in that age is as profuse as it is excellent. After one reads many Elizabethan songs, one becomes aware of the extent and wealth of these wonderful realms of gold.

Composers in those days were not satisfied merely to let the words of a song be conveniently used for some particular piece of music. The music, which was ''married to immortal verse,'' was ''choicely good ''—to use Izaak Walton's words. The rich, melodious, and beautiful songs of the Elizabethan age, which are dispersed among the plays, masques, and pageants, are unique.

John Lyly is quite different from Robert Greene because the latter's lyrics are found only in his romances, not in his plays. Thomas Lodge is also like Robert Greene in this respect. But Lyly's comedies are interspersed with songs even if one can find nothing resembling a lyric in his romance, *Euphues.* In 1632 Edward Blount issued a collective edition of Lyly's plays for the preservation of these songs which are not included in the original edition of Lyly's plays. Unfortunately, some of the publishers in those days were sometimes very foolish and omitted songs from plays put to press. It is known that Hain Friswell omitted in 1867 all the poetry from his edition of Sidney's *Arcadia.* Although the stage directions in Marston's plays show that songs must have been plentiful, his plays contain none of them. But still, even at that, one cannot say that the songs were Marston's, for one does not know positively. In Lyly's songs there is an ethereal lightness that bespeaks of a most refreshing and soothing contrast to the ornamentation of *Euphues.* It would be difficult to find verses which are superior to *Cupid and my Campaspe Played.* Where can there be found a conceit which is more neatly turned than in these delightful verses?

"Cupid and my Campaspe played
At cards for kisses,—Cupid paid;
He stakes his quiver, bow and arrows,
His mother's doves, and team of sparrows:
Loses them too; then down he throws
The coral of his lip, the rose
Growing on's cheek (but none knows how);
With these the crystal of his brow,
And then the dimple of his chin:
All these did my Campaspe win.
At last he set her both his eyes;
She won, and Cupid blind did rise.
O Love, has she done this to thee?
What shall, alas! become of me?"

—JOHN LYLY,
Alexander and Campaspe, 1584; acted 1581.

Lyly's songs are not found in the original editions of his plays, but they first appeared in the collective edition of 1632. It is known, of course, that the songs of Lyly were written during the time when every English lyrist was, like the clod, groping blindly for light, but finally "climbs to a soul in grass and flowers."[1] Even Breton and Lodge sometimes fall back into those tedious measures which some of the older poets used. Even Robert Greene's touch was not always sure although his lyrical poetry is of a singular beauty. The songs of Lyly, however, are exquisite. There are as many facets to his songs as there are to a well-cut diamond, and all the facets sparkle and "flash a laugh at time." *Song to Apollo, God of Day*, and *O Cupid, Monarch over Kings*, are remembered for their flower-like beauty.

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[1] From *The Vision of Sir Launfal*, by James Russell Lowell.

" Sing to Apollo, god of day,
Whose golden beams with morning play,
And make her eyes as brightly shine,
Aurora's face is called divine;
Sing to Phoebus and that throne
Of diamonds which he sits upon
Io paeans let us sing
To physic's and poesy's king!

Crown all his altars with bright fire,
Laurels bind about his lyre,
A Daphnean coronet for his head,
The Muses dance about his bed;
When on his ravishing lute he plays,
Strew his temple round with bays.
Io paeans let us sing
To the glittering Delian king! "

—John Lyly,
Midas, 1592; acted 1590.

O Cupid, Monarch over Kings is equally beautiful:

" O Cupid! monarch over kings,
Wherefore hast thou feet and wings?
It is to shew how swift thou art,
When thou wound'st a tender heart;
Thy wings being clipped and feet held still,
Thy bow so many could not kill.

It is all one in Venus' wanton school,
Who highest sits, the wise man or the fool;
Fools in love's college
Have far more knowledge
To read a woman over,
Than a neat prating lover:
Nay, 'tis confessed,
That fools please women best."

—John Lyly,
Mother Bombie, 1594; acted about 1590.

The songs interspersed in the drama of Lyly are dainty, indeed, and when one has read many of the songs of the Elizabethan dramatists, it is not to be wondered at that they have long been recognized as amongst the best of the English lyrics. From the time of the merry lilt of *Gammer Gurton's Needle, Back and side, go bare, go bare,* the practice of interspersing the dramas with lyrics has continued to no small degree until one finds the most excellent lyrics in the dramas of Lyly, Dekker, and Shakespeare.

Although Peele's plays are not the best, his lyrics are very beautiful and are fresh as spring-time flowers.

"Fair and fair, and twice so fair,
As fair as any may be;
The fairest shepherd on our green,
A love for any lady.
Fair and fair, and twice so fair,
As fair as any may be;
Thy love is fair for thee alone
And for no other lady.
My love is fair, my love is gay,
As fresh as bene the flowers in May,
And of my love my roundelay,
My merry, merry roundelay,
Concludes with Cupid's curse,—
They that do change old love for new
Pray gods they change for worse!
They that do change old love for new
Pray gods they change for worse!

Fair and fair, and twice so fair,
As fair as any may be;
The fairest shepherd on the green
A love for any lady.
Fair and fair, and twice so fair,
As fair as any may be;
Thy love is fair for thee alone
And for no other lady.

My love can pipe, my love can sing,
My love can many a pretty thing,
And of his lovely praises ring
My merry, merry roundelays.
Amen to Cupid's curse,—
They that do change old love for new
Pray gods they change for worse!
They that do change old love for new
Pray gods they change for worse!"

—George Peele,
The Arraignment of Paris, 1584; acted before 1582.)

This one is unusually musical :

" O gentle Love, ungentle for thy deed,
Thou mak'st my heart
A bloody mark
With piercing shot to bleed.

Shoot soft, sweet Love, for fear thou shoot amiss,
For fear too keen
Thy arrows bene,
And hit the heart where my beloved is.

Too fair that fortune were, nor never I
Shall be so blest,
Among the rest,
That love shall seize on her by sympathy.

Then since with Love my prayers bear no boot,
This doth remain
To ease my pain
I take the wound and die at Venus' foot."

—George Peele,
The Arraignment of Paris, 1584; acted before 1582.

It has been said that Peele was a reprobate but it is rather difficult for one to believe it when one reads such lyrics as these. Be that as it may, it is known that the author of these lyrics was a man of chivalrous character. Peele must have been honoured in court, for the play from which these songs come was given in the presence of the Queen.

Although the prose of Thomas Nash is not of the best, his few songs, which are the purest of lyrics, are above the ordinary.

> " Fair summer droops, droop men and beasts therefore,
> So fair a summer look for never more:
> All good things vanish less than in a day,
> Peace, plenty, pleasure, suddenly decay.
> Go not yet away, bright soul of the sad year,
> The earth is hell when thou leav'st to appear.
> What, shall those flowers that decked thy garland erst,
> Upon thy grave be wastefully dispersed?
> O trees, consume your sap in sorrow's source,
> Streams, turn to tears your tributary course.
> Go not yet hence, bright soul of the sad year,
> The earth is hell when thou leav'st to appear."

—THOMAS NASH,
Summer's Last Will and Testament, 1600; acted 1592.

This one is very musical, too:

> " Spring, the sweet Spring, is the year's pleasant king;
> Then blooms each thing, then maids dance in a ring,
> Cold doth not sting, the pretty birds do sing,
> Cuckoo, jug, jug, pu-we, to-witta-woo!
> The palm and May make country houses gay,
> Lambs frisk and play, the shepherds pipe all day,
> And we hear aye birds tune this merry lay,
> Cuckoo, jug, jug, pu-we, to-witta-woo!
> The fields breathe sweet, the daisies kiss our feet,
> Young lovers meet, old wives a-sunning sit,
> In every street, these tunes our ears do greet,
> Cuckoo, jug, jug, pu-we, to-witta-woo!
> Spring, the sweet spring! "

—THOMAS NASH,
Summer's Last Will and Testament, 1600; acted 1592.

It is, perhaps, unnecessary to say that Shakespeare is the outstanding lyrist of the Elizabethan dramatists. In regard to the real mystery of this man's great power, both criticism and philosophy are mute. His appearance in the world's intellectual chronicles can be linked with no preceding age, and he is far above his own age. Emerson says, "It is the nature of poetry to spring, like the rainbow daughter of Wonder, from the invisible, to abolish the past, and to refuse all history." The capacities and wonders of Shakespeare's mind existed in the vital germ of the spiritual nature born with him into the world and his works, of course, are the result of unfolding this. He is a person as great as the sum of all his works. There are many lyrics scattered all through Shakespeare's dramas and they are all equally beautiful. Although such lyrics as the following hint of the inmost essence of the poet and play upon the mind "like a splendor out of Heaven," as Carlyle says; and although they illustrate the independence of time, they are no adequate measure of Shakespeare's power. This one is very pretty:

"Who is Silvia? What is she,
  That all our swains commend her?
Holy, fair and wise is she;
  That heaven such grace did lend her,
That she might admired be.
Is she kind as she is fair,
  For beauty lives with kindness?
Love doth to her eyes repair,
  To help him of his blindness,
And being helped inhabits there.
Then to Silvia let us sing,
  That Silvia is excelling;
She excels each mortal thing
  Upon the dull earth dwelling:
  To her let us garlands bring."

—WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE,
The Two Gentlemen of Verona, 1598; acted about 1592-93.

This one is recognized by everyone :

"Over hill, over dale,
Through bush, through brier,
Over park, over pale,
Through flood, through fire,
I do wander everywhere,
Swifter than the moon's sphere;
And I serve the fairy queen,
To dew her orbs upon the green :
The cowslips tall her pensioners be;
In their gold coats spots you see;
Those be rubies, fairy favours,
In their freckles live their savours:
I must go seek some dew-drops here,
And hang a pearl in every cowslip's ear.
Farewell, thou lob of spirits: I'll be gone;
Our queen and all her elves come here anon."

—WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE,
A Midsummer Night's Dream, Act II, Sc. I.

These lines, which are sung while Bassanio comments on the caskets to himself, are familiar ones :

"Tell me where is fancy bred,
Or in the heart or in the head?
How begot, how nourished?
Reply, reply.
It is engendered in the eyes,
With gazing fed; and fancy dies
In the cradle where it lies:
Let us all ring fancy's knell;
I'll begin it,—Ding, dong, bell.
Ding, dong, bell."

—WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE,
The Merchant of Venice, 1596.

And this one is familiar :

"All that glitters is not gold;
Often have you heard that told:

Many a man his life hath sold:
But my outside to behold:
Gilded tombs do worms infold.
Had you been as wise as bold,
Young in limbs, in judgment old,
Your answer had not been inscroll'd:
Fare you well; your suit is cold."

—WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.
The Merchant of Venice, Act II, Sc. VII.

In *Measure for Measure*, this one is found:

"Take, O take those lips away,
That so sweetly were forsworn;
And those eyes, the break of day,
Lights that do mislead the morn:
But my kisses bring again,
Bring again,
Seals of love, but sealed in vain,
Sealed in vain."

—WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE,

In Ben Jonson's plays one finds many lyrics.

"Still to be neat, still to be drest,
As you were going to a feast;
Still to be powdered, still perfumed:
Lady, it is to be presumed,
Though Art's hid causes are not found,
All is not sweet, all is not sound.

Give me a look, give me a face,
That makes simplicity a grace;
Robes loosely flowing, hair as free:
Such sweet neglect more taketh me
Than all th' adulteries of art;
They strike mine eyes, but not my heart."

—BEN JONSON,
The Silent Woman, 1609-10.

Ben Jonson is one of the poets who has combined learning with both smoothness and sprightliness. He has intertwined "all the sweets and salts, That none may say the triumph halts." One can find many interesting epigrams in his lyrics, but this is a subject unto itself. The compactness of his thought is unusual.

Dekker had a real lyrical gift. All of his work, though, was done in haste, probably because life was a constant struggle to try to keep the wolf away from the door. Then, too, he was often put into prison as was the custom in those days for not being able to pay his debts; and such surroundings were not particularly inspiring for poetical expression. His cheerful disposition however, never forsook him and there are only too few of his lyrics which are lovely as a day in early June. This one is very appealing :

" Art thou poor, yet hast thou golden slumbers?
O sweet content!
Art thou rich, yet is thy mind perplexed?
O punishment!
Dost thou laugh to see how fools are vexed
To add to golden numbers, golden numbers?
O sweet content! O sweet O sweet content!
Work apace, apace, apace, apace;
Honest labor bears a lovely face;
Then hey nonny nonny, hey nonny nonny!

Canst drink the waters of the crisped spring?
O sweet content!
Swimm'st thou in wealth, yet sink'st in thine own tears?
O punishment!
Then he that patiently want's burden bears
No burden bears, but is a king, a king!
O sweet content! O sweet O sweet content!
Work apace, apace, apace, apace;
Honest labor bears a lovely face;
Then hey nonny nonny, hey nonny nonny!"

—THOMAS DEKKER,
The Pleasant Comedy of Patient Grissell, acted 1599.

Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher were lyrists of the first rank. The *Inner Temple Masque* shows that Beaumont was able to write songs well. Notice the unusual rapture in this call to the masquers to begin the dance:

"Shake off your heavy trance!
And leap into a dance
Such as no mortals use to tread:
Fit only for Apollo
To play to, for the moon to lead,
And all the stars to follow!"

—Frecis Beaumont,
The Masque of the Inner Temple, 1612-13.

In Webster's dramas, the three lyrics are rather impressive. In *The White Devil* there is *Call for the Robin-Redbreast and the Wren*; in *The Duchess of Malfi*, *Hark, Now Everything is Still*; and in *The Devil's Law-Case*, *All the Flowers of the Spring*.

"Hark, now everything is still,
The screech-owl and the whistler shrill
Call upon our dame aloud,
And bid her quickly don her shroud.
Much you had of land and rent;
Your length in clay's now competent:
A long war disturbed your mind;
Here your perfect peace is signed.
Of what is't fools make such vain keeping,
Sin their conception, their birth weeping,
Their life a general mist of error,
Their death a hideous storm of terror?
Strew your hair with powders sweet,
Don clean linen, bathe your feet,
And—the foul fiend more to check—
A crucifix let bless your neck:
'Tis now full tide 'tween night and day;
End your groan, and come away."

—John Webster,
The Duchess of Malfi, 1623; acted about 1612.

Pack, Clouds, Away, and Welcome Day is a very pretty song by Thomas Heywood. There is much melody in *The Golden Age* and *Silver Age*; and the address to Phoebus in *Love's Mistress* is very graceful. Heywood has also written some songs which are somewhat jocular in manner.

Some of Shirley's songs remind one of Fletcher. But *The Glories of Our Blood and State* remind one of Fletcher himself, for it is original as it is solemn.

If one would know the moods and the inner feelings of these great lyrists one has only to study the lyrical poetry of the age of Elizabeth. Dr. Felix E. Schelling, a noted authority on Elizabethan literature, in his *Elizabethan Lyrics* (Ginn and Company, New York, 1895), page xxx of the Introduction, has said: The playwrights, however, almost at once perceived the need of a wider scope of sentiment than was to be found in the pastoral mode, and recognized the superior excellence of shorter and sprightlier metrical forms over the slow-paced sonnet. Hence we find the songs of the dramatists vying in wealth of fancy and originality of form with the best work of other lyrists. With the exception of Shakespeare, whose lyrics, like all else that his hand touched, are beyond comparison, no Elizabethan poet has produced so large a number of exquisite songs as John Fletcher.

"Tell me, dearest, what is love?
'Tis a lightning from above;
'Tis an arrow, 'tis a fire,
'Tis a boy they call Desire.
'Tis a grave,
Gapes to have
Those poor fools that long to prove.

Tell me more, are women true?
Yes, some are, and some as you.
Some are willing, some are strange,
Since you men first taught to change.
And till troth
Be in both,
All shall love, to love anew.

Tell me more yet, can they grieve?
Yes, and sicken sore, but live,
And be wise, and delay,
When you men are wise as they.
Then I see,
Faith will be,
Never till they both believe."

—JOHN FLETCHLR,
The Captain, 1647, acted before 1613.
LOUISE A. NELSON.

MDISUMMER

" Loved one, what is that?
Lovers on the lake rowing?"
" No, dearest, that is a pair of ducks
That float on dirty water."

" Loved one, what is that?
The fragrance of a rose?"
" No, dearest, that is the smell of the dead
That rises from yonder graves."

" Loved one, what is that?
The ditties of love that are singing?"
" No, dearest, that is the hot wind
Over the desert sweeping."

" Loved one, what am I then?
I am a very king in heaven!"
" No, dearest, upon the wings of dreams
You are riding with your love."

JINKICHI MATSUDA

THOUGHTS ON PROGRESS

Conditions of Progress.

IV. Regarding the conditions of progress various theories have been propounded and various suggestions offered and emphasized by different thinkers and leaders in all ages and countries and peoples, nay, numerous theoretical and practical schemes have been formulated and experimented on the basis of those theories and suggestions for the general guidance and regulation of the course of human life, thought and conduct. Here I need not enter into details of each of them. Looking at them from a broad point of view, it may be pointed out that none of them has yet sufficiently satisfied the needs of humanity. The very fact that their validity or feasibility has been questioned or could be openly challenged is a clear proof of their inadequacy and impracticability beyond a certain degree. Analysing them carefully, one may certainly detect that these theories and suggestions have been brought forward in the interest, more or less, of one or the other of these five: (1) the perpetual state of strangeness or unlikeness, (2) that of conflict or antagonism, (3) that of harmony or conciliation, (4) that of unity, and (5) that of beatitude. Thus it becomes necessary to examine patiently whether, if at all, any of these five states can, when considered by itself, be regarded as the only and ultimate condition of progress in the aforesaid sense.

State of strangeness or unlikeness.

(1) The state of strangeness or unlikeness is in essence the mere co-existence or concurrence of separate individuals or groups with or without chances of mutual encroachments. Thus to welcome it as condition of progress is to endeavour to ascertain how far it is possible for mankind to co-exist and develop as different or distinct individuals or groups, self-reliant,

self-subsistent and self-sufficient, with or without chances of mutual encroachments on their rights to self-existence and growth.

To desire to co-exist as separate individuals eliminating all chances of mutual encroachments is to imagine the state of strangeness or unlikeness to be the mere juxtaposition of the geometrical points of Euclid or that of the liberated souls of the Sāṅkhya philosophy, without any magnitude, without any occupation of space, without any movement in time and in complete dissociation from all mundane or functional activities. To hail such a state of things is to exist only in abstraction completely ceasing to be in reality

On the other hand, to aspire to co-exist and thrive as different individuals with chances of mutual transgression and yet without actually being guilty of such a transgression is to seek to restore the fancied original state of human beings consisting in nudity, purity, child-like innocence, ignorance of worldly affairs and abundance of the bounties of Providence. But to do so is just to repeat the pathetic Biblical story of the fall of Man and the untold miseries of his unhappy descendants, apparently for no fault of theirs. Generation after generation they have implored the mercy of their Maker through His Prophets. Age after age the prophets have generously mediated and practised the most rigorous form of expiation on their behalf. And yet the irony of fate is that the original sin committed by the first parents is mercilessly rampant as ever, and the promised salvation remains just a pious hope. If this fact is worth anything, it serves only to prove that the condition of untested virtue is, after all, an unreliable and dangerous state.[1] To court it is to be compelled to think that the benign and most merciful creator himself leaves a loop-hole in his bounty only to create an opportunity for cursing its recipients who are his best creations.[2] It is in the very nature of strangeness or unlikeness to lay it open to invasion, molestation and danger. The underlying tendency of the strange or unlike is to be guided by the instinct of self-preservation, and to think of self-preservation is to recognize *ipso facto* that the self is already in danger. Hence from this point of view, to be strange or unlike is to try to be what one is not yet and can never wholly be.

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[1] The Buddha has offered a scathing criticism of the position of the Saubālas of India who set up the child-life as the model of virtue to the effect that a child has not even the mind and the developed organs of sense, and what to speak of human character which is the ripe result of tested virtue.

It may be interesting at last to examine what turns out to be the character of strangeness when asceticism is cited as its prototype. A typical ascetic passes deliberately and with his eyes open to consequences into strangeness in order to be a distinct individual, self-reliant, self-subsistent and self-sufficient, and determined not to have anything to do with the society of men that he leaves for good. His heart gets agitated; he experiences the torments of passion. Unable to restrain himself, he becomes disgusted with the ways of society like a bad workman quarrelling with his tool. He has somehow or other certain specific grievances against society that cannot in his opinion be remedied until its character is miraculously altered. He is led by a mad desire to differ in every possible manner from others who obey the social convention. He goes naked and dwells in natural dens in a lonesome forest. He does not eat cooked food but prefers to feed himself on air, water or fire. In short, he behaves as an outlaw or open revolutionary in seeking to disregard the social convention. Literally he reverts to the state of nature. He begins to enact the drama of the life of a snake, or of a tortoise, or even of an oyster. By making all these experiments he obtains certain results which naturally make him feel and believe that he has made a new discovery, the discovery of a new truth or of a new art of life. But lo! no sooner the fascination of a new discovery allures his mind than he becomes eager to return to the society to proclaim it and seek a following amongst his fellow beings. With an air of superiority and frowning eyes he promulgates the truths that he believes to be new and emphasizes the value of the results of his experiments. Thus he contradicts his original intention by running away only to turn back. Boasting of enlightenment he fails to recognize how he glides into delusion by letting himself believe that what he has practised was or is not practised by others, that he alone fed himself on elemental food or went naked, and no other man did or does so, while, as a matter of fact, what he has practised was and is practised by all in some measure and on some occasions. His specialisation and propaganda are not, however, without significance in that these serve to emphasize and bring into clear recognition certain things which otherwise pass as common-place losing all sense of mystery.

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[2] *Cf.* Gayā-māhātmya story—where Brahmā is said to have granted abundant bounties to the Brahmins of Gayā allowing them to enjoy them and laying no other restriction than that they should neither demand nor actually receive gifts from any other hand. But out of greed they officiated as priests at the worship of Dharma and received offerings, in consequence of which Brahmā came down from his heaven and cursed them finally taking back what he had given them. Thereupon the Brahmins of Gayā said to Brahmā : "Lord ! thy curse hath taken away what thy bounty gave."

If strangeness or unlikeness concerns the groups of men instead of isolated individuals, it has significance only in so far as each group or collective body tries by resources at its command to be self-reliant, self-subsistent and self-sufficient independently of other groups. But internally all the while each group stands out as an example of harmony or of unity, and not of strangeness. It is impossible for any group to keep its individuals completely estranged from others forming other groups, and when it seeks to do so, it does so only at its own risk inasmuch as in its very nature strangeness or unlikeness exposes men to invasion, molestation and danger.[3]

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[3] *Cf.* the Ohāṇa-Sutta in the Āchārāñga where Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, sets forth the reminiscences of his trials and tribulations and no less of his troubles and sufferings at the hands of the mischievous cowherds to whom his ways appeared strange.

It is, nevertheless, easy to understand that strangeness or unlikeness, urging separate individuals or groups to be self-reliant, self-subsistent and self-sufficient as far as possible is a condition of progress. But at the same time strangeness or unlikeness, implying as it does the consciousness of potentiality in oneself along with the obsession of the fear of danger, cannot certainly be regarded as the only and ultimate condition.

State of conflict or antagonism.

(2) It is now the turn to inquire if the perpetual state of conflict or antagonism can be regarded as the only and ultimate condition of progress. It may be claimed indeed that as the highest possible stage of preparation, tension and action, conflict or antagonism satisfies the required condition of progress. Even it may be argued that all religions, of which the avowed mission is peace, arise, whenever and wherever they arise, with an inspiring call to arms urging all of those who possess the heart to respond to mobilise and rally round a common standard for bravely fighting with what is considered at the time to be the oppressive power of force, either for offence or for defence or for both. I may readily concede that in the true reading of its internal character the state of conflict or antagonism is not inherently evil; while in its external feature conflict or antagonism appears as a clash of interests, of diametrically opposed interests, on its internal side it is conceivable only where the interest has tended to be identical but the modes of identification are yet at variance and the idea of common participation in the same object remains latent. I mean that when two separate individuals or parties believing each to be unlike the other approach each other for the first time, unconsciously with the same end in view and without having discovered or utilised the proper mode of approach, the expression is conflict, antagonism, opposition or contradiction. In accordance with this view, if to remain unlike is to lay oneself open to attack, molestation or danger, to tend to be like is to prepare for making an attack or offering resistance, and to try to make another like oneself

is to create a rival. Until and unless the attention of two separate individuals or groups is somehow or other fixed on the same object, it is impossible to think of conflict or antagonism.[4]

To illustrate the point at issue, when the older and rising generations are at conflict with each other, here as all the world over, it will be a mistake to suppose that the heart of the old does not unconsciously yearn for the attainment of that which the young fights for, nor that when the latter openly challenges the *raison d'être* of the established system, the faith of the old in that system remains wholly unshaken. And yet when the old is seen fondly clinging to the past tradition and thereby appear as opposed to the cause espoused by the young, the explanation is that the younger generation has failed to or has not, at any rate, succeeded in evolving a progressive scheme enabling human life to pulsate more and more, not inconsistent with the tried scheme in force. Those who have nothing to lose can be easily persuaded to make experiments of uncertain results, and those who believe that they possess at least something cannot be induced to encourage the experiment until they are convinced that even if they have nothing to gain, they have nothing to lose.

Considered in this light, the state of conflict or antagonism is certainly a condition of progress indicating, as it does on its internal side, the tendency of mankind to unify their interests and enter into a larger and larger partnership.[5] But it cannot be judged as the only and ultimate condition because the process is yet unconscious, the participation in common good is not as yet an established fact, and the modes of approach remain irreconciled or opposed.

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[4] The argument developed above is clearly anticipated in the Kāmandakīya-Nīti definition of enmity :

Ekârthâbhiniveśitvam ari-lakshaṇam uchyate.

[5] This is the substance of the Indian interpretation of conflict or war as a means of founding a larger and more stable order of law and form of society, as developed in the Great Epic.

I may be prepared to concede that even in its external feature where the modes of mutual approach remain irreconciled or diametrically opposed, the state of conflict or antagonism shows a brighter aspect. So far as its external feature is concerned, the instinct of self-preservation which guides the life of the unlike assumes two distinct modes of self-expansion and self-defence. As a thinker of Bengal seeks to maintain, whenever and wherever any cause of complaint arises in a certain action of others, if it is a real one, it arises indeed just to draw out and counteract the cause which otherwise lies hidden in the mechanical and self-complacent routine life of the complainant. His argument is that when the Indian accuses the European of exploitation, the Indian himself may be sure to find out, if he knows how to find it, that his vaunted and deep-rooted caste organization is a long-standing economic order which has ordained one social group or trade-guild to live by exploiting other groups or guilds; or when the Hindu accuses the Christian of bigotry and the Muhammadan of fanaticism, he ought first of all to discover that he has failed to make room for two more divinities in spite of the fact that he could divine and accommodate thirty-three crores of gods and goddesses in his pantheon. Thus to push this line of argument to its logical conclusion would be to try and hang first the complainant as the accused or real culprit.

Considered from this point of view, one may welcome conflict or antagonism, even in its external feature as an effective mode of detecting and ultimately getting rid of the unessential and troublesome factors in the life or action of each contending party, leading to a more and more effective mode of improving the form of the essential elements. But the result being of uncertain and rather negative character, conflict or antagonism cannot in its external feature be put forth as the only and ultimate condition of progress.

The real danger of conflict or antagonism in its external feature is that the strong tendency of the contending parties, the rivals or opponents, is to crush each other, to flourish each at the cost of the other, or even to put obstacles in the way of the other striving to develop.[6] If both are crushed, there is an end of the matter. If one is crushed, the other is sure to be crippled. And if none of the two thrives, both decay. But if both can strongly resist without being crushed or crippled, there is zest in rivalry unknowingly for a common cause, and there arise preparedness and possibility for the introduction of a new order of existence, which is at once fuller and more vigorous and significant than before.

(To be continued.)

B. M. BARUA

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[6] The dark side of the external feature of conflict has been fully laid bare in the Thirteenth Rock Edict of King Aśoka setting forth the consequences of his war with the people of Kaliṅga. The psychological study of the Buddhists of the origin and development of conflict, as found in the Kalaha-vivāda and other Suttas, is one-sided as it concerns itself only with the external feature.

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

North-Western Provinces.

We shall next pass on to the North Western Provinces, now disunited from the rest of Bengal, under a separate Lieutenant-Governorship.

The Act XIV of 1843 was the direct, though deferred outcome of Trevelyan's report. It improved and simplified the Customs Establishment, concentrating it on a single frontier cordon. The number of articles leviable to duty was cut down to three only but salt continued to be one of them. Lines were drawn up along proper routes to control the approaches from the independent adjoining states of the Punjab, Gwalior, Nagpur, Oudh, etc.

By the same Act the manufacture of alimentary salt was altogether prohibited. But the salt generally known as "Sitta," which was obtained as a by-product during the manufacture of saltpetre, an extensive industry of the country, remained almost unregulated. No account was taken of it so long as it remained within a certain percentage of the total product. If it exceeded the limit, it had to be destroyed.

Imported salt was subjected to a tax of Rs. 2 per maund along the greater part of the trade route and to a reduced rate of Re. 1 per maund along the rest. Salt that paid the duty of Rs. 2 per maund generally went further east but had to pay, when transmitted eastward of Allahabad, an additional duty of Re. 1 per maund. For, it was in the province of Benares that salt from two opposite directions, from the west and from Bengal on the east, met together and the object of the extra duty was to equalise the tax on them. So in 1847 and again in 1849, when reduction of duty on Bengal salt was effected, corresponding reductions were made in the Allahabad duty. The Benares division was thus kept apart from the rest of the province and placed on the same plane as that of Bengal. The heavier taxation of the region was partly defended on the ground that it along with Bengal was a permanently settled tract.

The reorganisation of the customs on an improved basis put an effective check on contraband trade that was too conspicuously rampant. The salt revenue, in common with the collections from the other two articles, but in a more marked degree, began to grow apace. In 1845-46 the contribution of salt alone amounting to Rs. 3,809,072 exceeded by a large margin the entire customs revenue of any of the previous years.

But one extensive source of smuggling which deprived the Government of considerable revenue, remained yet to be combated. The exemption from any control of the impure salt, educed in the manufacture of salt-petre had given rise to an illicit trade in the article for the purpose of being used in the adulteration of the licit salt. An official enquiry confirmed in a more startling manner the general but vague suspicion of the existence of this channel of smuggling. This led the local Government to prepare in 1847 the draft of an Act for regulating the manufacture of alimentary salt at salt-petre manufactories and elsewhere within the limits of the North Western Provinces. But the Supreme Government refused to sanction the proposed measure for fear that it might prejudicially affect the manufacture of the staple article itself. A modified draft that was subsequently submitted was also similarly rejected.

The first Sikh war broke out in 1845 and ended in 1846 in the annexation of the districts on the east of the Sutlej and the Beas. The customs line was redrawn in order to encompas the newly acquired area. At the same time the specially low rate of Re. 1, charged along a certain portion of the line, was enhanced and brought up to the same uniform standard of Rs. 2 per maund.

The quantity of salt, that annually passed the line from this date till the next change in 1850, increased on an average from 2,248,569 mds. in the previous period to 2,334,219 mds. Considering the increased population brought within the jurisdiction of the customs line, the increase must be regarded to have been very inadequate. The revenue fell far short of what might have been expected from the extension of the area as well as from the enhancement of the tax.

The reader will understand that as the law then stood, only the salt purchased at the Company's sales was duty-free on admission into the province. Foreign salt imported into Bengal on payment of duty was not therefore exempt from further levy on its customs frontier. It did not matter so long as the import of foreign salt into Bengal was inconsiderable. But when the situation began to change the restriction was removed in 1848. The withdrawal of the restriction brought the consumption of the foreign imported salt within the reach of the eastern districts of the province as far as the navigation of the Ganges and its tributaries would convey it.

With the annexation of the Punjab in 1849 the barrier against the importation of salt from that country was pulled down. But the Punjab salt was itself subjected to an equal duty at the mines. So the change from the point of view of taxation was, so to speak, almost nominal. Only, the duty of Rs. 2 at the Punjab mines, being inclusive of the mining expenses estimated at 2 as. per md., the actual tax became higher than the customs duty by the amount of the mining expenses.

One further consequence of the change was the transference from the North Western Provinces revenue to the credit of the Punjab treasury the proceeds of the duty heretofore levied on the consumption of the Punjab salt in the former province or on what was consumed in its stead.

Since salt was a source of imperial finance, the change was so far one of book-keeping merely. But it naturally caused a deficiency in the total receipts; for the Punjab excise, as pointed out, fell short of the North Western Provinces customs duty by two annas.

But the year that immediately followed the annexation showed a very marked decline in the importation of dutiable salt and hence in the revenue obtained. The whole of the deficiency could by no means be accounted for by the single fact of the removal of the customs line and the increased consumption of the Punjab salt that might have been consequent on it. It was partly the reflex action of excessive importation in the previous year and partly attributable to increased consumption in the Benares division of eastern salt that paid its duty to Bengal treasury. From the following year the import began to recover steadily till in 1854-55 it out-did the average of the previous epoch by more than five lakhs of maunds.

(To be continued.)

PARIMAL RAY

THE SILENT CHORDS

Across the ivory keys my fingers strayed
In search of song ; the tune I played
Was some old song, all wild and high,
You used to sing to me in days gone by :
By themselves these keys could not achieve
The lovely tunes my reverent fingers weave,
As mute and silently I wait apart,
Needing your love-touch on my throbbing heart
To burst the silence of its endless night
And bathe my soul in new and glorious light.
For I, without you, cannot find the ways
Where Love brings gladness to life's ways ;
Mutely, like these keys, I wait day-long
Until your voice shall waken all my life to song !

LELAND J. BERRY

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE DUTCH RAILWAYS

Books in English, on the railway system of Holland being limited we venture to present this short survey.

In a country like Holland flat, marshy and low-lying, canals have naturally served as a network of communications with which the railways have always to compete.

As a supremely commercial nation, the Dutch depend largely on their communications. They have large maritime activities and two of the best ports in Europe are in their territory. For inland canal traffic the Netherlands can hardly be compared with any other country of the world, and her recent enterprises with the Fokker machine in the air, have proved her superiority in aerial transport. And yet her railways are relatively poor, compared with her energetic attacks in other directions.

The reasons are not far to seek. The physical conditions of the country make railway construction expensive on account of embankments, bridges, and protective devices to prevent the road-bed from sinking and being washed away. In 1929 a whole station, with tracks, platforms, etc., is found to have sunk nearly 3½ ft. The station building, which was built on poles, remains unaffected but everything else has sunk gradually so that stairs have to be constructed to reach various parts of the station and platform, where originally there were none. High speed and heavy loads receive a natural check from the soft and marshy condition of the soil in many parts, and above all, the acute competition with waterways at almost every point makes economic working of the railways an extremely difficult task.

And yet the Netherlands Railways have after years of loss from 1916-1923 yielded surplus profits during the last five years, and have paid dividends to the share-holders. There can be no surer indication of the economical and efficient working of the system under such tremendous difficulties.

The Dutch railways have been partly constructed by the State and partly by Companies with interest at the rate of 5% guaranteed by the State for the capital outlay. The continued financial burden and losses suffered by both the administrations led to a combination, and in 1917 the Staats Spoorwegen (State Railways) and the Hollandsche Spoorweg Maatschappij (Dutch Railway Company) were fused into one undertaking, keeping separate capital accounts for each. The State holds 55% of the shares in the railways and the total capital outlay of f 90 million guilders (=£7½ million, is composed as follows :—

Capital:

	Guilders [£1=f 12]
I. *Staats Spoorwegen*:	
Shares held by Public	f 18,000,000
,, ,, ,, State	f 22,000,000
	f40,000,000
II. *Hollandsche Spoorweg Maatschappij*:	
Shares for Public	f 22,500,000
Government Shares	f 27,500,000
	f 50,000,000
Total Capital ...	f 90,000,000

From 1910 to 1916 the State obtained a small surplus over its disbursements for guaranteed interest, but for the following seven years it had to sustain heavy losses. During 1921-1923 the losses amounted to an average of over f25 million or £2 million per year. The position has however improved since 1924, and some surplus has been available to pay dividends on the shares. During the last five years the railways have paid 5% dividend to all share-holders.

The State plays a very important part, not only in the provision but also in the management of the railways in Holland.

The actual management is done by two Directors (the Directie) each of whom is in charge of one important branch of railway working. Under the Directors are the different services of Traffic (Goods), Exploitation (Passengers), Tractie (Locomotives), Way and Works (Engineering), Signals, Rolling Stock, Workshops, Accounts, Central Cash Control, etc. A "General Service" includes Law, etc., and a separate "Commercial department" deals with canvassing and rates, etc., for parcels and goods.

The office and working organization is 'departmental.' Each service has inspectors or engineers in charge of a district and all the inspectors, etc., are under close direction of the central office. There are 11 traffic districts, and similar districts, not necessarily co-extensive, are there for other departments. The operating of trains, both goods and passenger, as well as passenger commercial work is entrusted to one inspector who is thus responsible to both the Traffic (Goods) and Exploitation (Passengers) departments.

The Commercial department has special commercial agents or canvassers in important centres, while goods train running is looked after by the inspectors and by special controllers under the traffic department. The commercial agents have also to look after the co-ordinating of the work of the transportation and commercial goods sections. They come into touch with the public as well in many instances particularly in dealing with claims, demurrages, etc.

The signalmen at Stations are under the control of the Traffic and Exploitation departments, but those on the line are under the department of Ways and Works. The construction, repairs and maintenance of all signals are, however, done by the Signal-Engineer's men.

The Directors are the permanent executive head of the railways, appointed by a body called the "Raad van Commissarissen" which is the highest Railway Management Commission. This Commission, which can be compared to the Board of Directors of British railways, is composed of 13 men, of which the majority, that is 7, are nominated by the Government and the remaining 6 are elected by the share-holders. As holder of the major part of the shares and as guarantor of the rest the State exercises this privilege. In this manner attempt has been made in Holland to secure State control while leaving the management of the railways with an independent body.

The highest controlling authority however is the Minister of Railways and Canals. He is at the head of the Railway Department of the Government, and is assisted by an expert body called the "Rijkstoezicht." The members of this body are paid officers of Government, appointed to study and supervise railway working on behalf of Government and to assist the Minister with all necessary technical knowledge. The Minister is ultimately responsible to Parliament for the policy.

In addition to these executive and supervisory organizations there is in Holland a public Advisory Council for assisting the railway in coming into contact with the public and to see what can be done to meet various demands for alteration of services, special provisions, terminal and other facilities, etc. The members of this Council are nominated by the Minister and by the Railway from amongst prominent public men in different localities.

The following financial and operating statistics show for 1926 and 1927 the position of Dutch railways :—

I. Income (in million guilders), £1=12 guilders:

Heads of Income.	1926.	1927.
1. Passengers	76·49	75·75
2. Parcels, dogs, luggage, etc.	1·86	1·78
3. Mails, etc. (paid for by State)	4·39	3·75
4. Livestock, etc.	2·24	2·39
5. Goods	74·83	75·15
6. Miscellaneous	3·54	3·35
7. Telegraph	·04	·03
Total "Exploitation" or working Expenses Total ...	f163·39	f162·21
...	119·55	119·41
Surplus ...	43·84	42·80

The length of line in operation in 1927 was 3,675 kilometres and the number of Train-kilometres run during 1926 and 1927 were 45·1 and 48·8 millions respectively. Calculated on these the income per train kilometres during the last two years had been 3·46 and 3·32 guilders respectively. Reduced to the English measure these are approximately 9·2 and 9·0 shillings per train-mile. Going into further details we obtain the following analyses :—

II.

Train kilometres run.	1926.	1927.
Passenger trains	34,168,245	35,631,893
Goods trains	12,954,045	13,126,466
Total ...	45,061,124.	48,758,359

III.

Income Analysis.	Million Guilders.		Guilders per Train K.M.	
	1926.	1927.	1926.	1927.
Passenger Trains ...	78·35	77·53	2·29	2·17
Goods Trains ...	81·46	81·30	6·28	6·19
All Trains ...	163·38	162·21	3·46	3·32

It will thus be seen that in 1927 less income has been derived in spite of more work done, both for passenger and freight services.

The surplus of income over operating expenses was disposed of in the following way :—

IV.

	1926.	1927.
	Million Guilders.	
Total surplus—Miscellaneous income ...	45·667	43·854
Hire charges and rents, etc.	6·8	6·4
Interests	24·0	21·2
Renewals and Depreciation	11·3	11·7
Miscellaneous and Reserve Fund	1·6	2·5
	43·64	41·82.
Net balance available for dividends ...	f 2,029,736	f 2,029,738.

The total operating expenses in one year, 1926, were incurred under different heads as follows :—

V.

	Million Guilders.
(*a*) General Administration	... 13·23
(*b*) Traffic, Exploitation and Commercial Departments	... 41·77
(*c*) Ways and Works	... 21·72
(*d*) Locomotive and Workshops	... 43·83
(*e*) Steamboats, etc.	... ·41
Total Expenses	... 120·97
Less payments received from local lines ...	... 1·41
Net Total working costs	... 119·56

The operating ratios were 73·17 per cent. in 1926 and 73·61 per cent. in 1927. The operating costs and Surplus Income per train kilometre were as follows :—

VI.

	Million Guilders.		Guilders per train K.M.	
	1926.	1927.	1926.	1927.
Operating Costs ...	119·56	119·41	2·53	2·44
Surplus Income ...	43·84	42·81	0·92	0·87

The amount of traffic handled by the Dutch railways in 1927 are given in the following table :—

VII.

	Number in Millions.	Income in Million Guilders.
1. Goods (in tons of 1000 kilogrammes)	20·36	75·15
2. Passengers—1st Class ...	1·07	5·50
2nd Class ...	7·09	21·89
3rd Class ...	44·13	48·37
Total Passengers ...	52·29	75·75

Analysed into classes of fares the passenger income stands thus :—

Normal Fares ...	...	...	... 54·21 million Guilders.
Season Tickets	...	...	... 19·94 ,, ,,
Vacation Tickets, etc.	...	...	... 1·63 ,, ,,
			75·75 ,, ,,

About 7 per cent. of the passenger income is obtained from persons travelling from and to foreign countries.

The highest speed of passenger trains is from 80 to 90 kilometres per hour for fast express trains, and between 70 and 75 kilometres for other trains. Electric trains are often run at a speed of 95 K. M. per hour. Ordinary goods trains run between 30 to 40 kilo's per hour, while "braked" and "Perishables," etc., trains run up to 60 K. M. per hour and attain the highest speed of 75 kilometres on electrified lines.

The greatest length of long-distance passenger trains is about 300 metres, exclusive of the locomotive, conveying generally 15 coaches of 20 metres each in length. In summer and during heavy traffic this limit is sometimes exceeded, and up to 17 and 18 coaches per train are allowed. Smaller trains are also formed as occasion and traffic conditions necessitate. The average load of a through goods train, *i.e.*, the coal trains from the South, is 60 wagons of 15 tons each, providing for the conveyance of about 900 tons of goods.

The Dutch railways had in 1927, 1,400 locomotives, 5,200 passenger coaches and 32,000 goods wagons. There are a few special type carriages both for handling special traffic as well as for Royalty, Inspection, Training, etc. There are no restaurant or sleeping cars belonging to the railways, and all such coaches are supplied on hire by the two Belgian and German private companies—the "Wagonlits" and the "Mitropa." A large number of foreign coaches are also in use for international through trains. Some famous luxe-trains are the Pullman

" Etoile du Nord " (Paris-Amsterdam) and the " Rheingold " (Hook of Holland) Amsterdam to Basel and Luzern. These two run all the year round. During summer a third one is run between Amsterdam and Basel-Luzern—*via* Brussels called the " Edelweisz."

The passenger coaches have generally the following accommodation :—

IIIrd Class—with lavatory-80—85 in a 4-axle vehicle with 10 compartments.
,, ,, without ,, 110 ,, ,, ,, ,, vehicle with 11 compartments.
Ist and IInd Class Composite Coaches, with Lavatory,
Corridor :—14 Ist Class and 24 IInd Class Seats.
Non-Corridor :—13 Ist Class and 31 IInd Class Seats.

Trains are formed partly or wholly with lavatory-fitted coaches according to requirements and nature of train.

The goods wagons are of an average 15 ton capacity. There are about 1,200 ten-ton wagons, and the tendency to increase higher capacity stock is noticeable. The average capacity of wagons is 15 to 20 tons, and there are some coal and " platform " wagons of 30 tons capacity as well for the conveyance of heavy loads. The line gauge is the same as in England and in the adjoining Continental countries.

Although not up to the British standard of comfort, the passenger rolling-stock is quite smooth in running and the safety devices in automatic handle locks, and other arrangements are quite up-to-date. The general impression created is that the Dutch railways stand midway between the Belgian and the German in the matter of rolling stock. In goods wagons they compare very favourably with the British railways, and although there are a large number of wagons without any brakes the greater capacity of the Continental railways in the handling of goods is at once evident. The want of braking arrangement for a large number of goods wagons is accounted for by the smooth and flat nature of the country.

In terminal arrangements the railways in Holland are at many places cramped for want of sufficient room for expansions.

as they are in England. The passenger station arrangements at Rotterdam and Utrecht are not quite satisfactory. The platforms are scarcely long enough to hold the longer trains properly. The parcels and luggage rooms are inconveniently located and the approaches and outlets to and from the stations are extremely congested. The railway authorities are quite aware of these disabilities and are constantly trying to remove them, but the financial position of the railways did not encourage them in the past to incur further capital expenses. Traffic conditions however may make it imperative sooner or later to improve these stations. The more modern terminal arrangements, *e.g.*, at Amsterdam c. s. and Haarlem with extensive platform accommodation, lounge, refreshment rooms, parcels and luggage rooms, etc., have left little to desire, and it is hoped that in course of time such facilities will be provided at other big centres as well. All the Dutch passenger terminals are closed stations, and the entrances and outlets are very carefully kept under supervision, except at Amsterdam W.P., the Hague s. s., and Rotterdam Maas. At these three stations are to be noticed the English influence on the old Netherland-Rhein Railway. In some places there are turnstiles fixed at platform approaches and protective railings of different length to deal with crowds conveniently. As one of the most up-to-date terminal stations in Holland, Amsterdam c.s. deserves a little more than passing reference.

The station has six extensive through platforms, all under cover. Five of these are used for passenger trains and the sixth is reserved for express goods trains. On the southern side of the station are various arrangements for the convenience of passengers, such as parcels room, cloak room, refreshments, stalls for sundries, booking offices, lounges and waiting halls, lavatories train indicator boards, etc. The island platforms between the northern and southern ends have also some conveniences for passengers such as buffets, lavatories, waiting benches, etc. All the platforms are connected by three subways, with baggage lifts at two ends. There are indicators and pointers at the stairs leading to the platforms from the subways. At the end of the main passenger platform there is a post and telegraph office and further on one side is an extensive building for the mails. On the northern side is the goods and parcels platform. This has an independent approach from the road on the further side and trolleys and moving cranes are available for the handling of goods. The goods platform has adjoining goods sheds and ware-house from which direct delivery and collection can be made both to and from road-vans.

A very important feature of Dutch transport is the preponderating use of water-carriers. As such the railways have got, as far as possible, to provide facilities for mutual transfer of goods. On the other side of the road adjoining the goods station on the northern side is the mouth of the river "Y." with some excellent harbours. The arrangements there make for that co-ordination of rail and water transport for which Holland is noted. There is also a bigger goods station at some distance from this place. It deals pre-eminently with imports and exports and heavy foreign traffic. On the eastern end of the station there are two shunting yards for passenger coaches and a few storage sidings. Necessary locomotive sheds and running repair shops are also provided at a distance. All the platforms are controlled by one big central signal box, constructed in the middle of one of the two station halls on a long overhead bridge. The second hall contains a sub-signal box. Further there are two sub-boxes at two ends which work under scheduled arrangement and at the guidance of the central box. On the platform there are starting signals and repeaters, as also shunting and warning arms. All the signals and switches are worked by electro-pneumatic or electric power and there are necessary block and interlocking arrangements.

The most remarkable station signalling arrangements are at Haarlem. There is a large electro-pneumatically-worked box looking over the whole of the yard under control. Most up-to-date mechanical appliances, showing occupation of different lines on visual diagrams, the capacity and interdependence of several blocks and sections, as shown on charts, together with a table for possible simultaneous train movements, are in use, and the efficiency and safe working at the junction has been greatly improved.

The lines between Amsterdam c.s. and Rotterdam D. P. *viv* Haarlem and the Hague, and between Haarlem and Ymuiden have been electrified since 1927, and this has very largely facilitated passenger movements and increased suburban traffic. Haarlem signal box has got to do one of the busiest train-control work in the country. Including the line Rotterdam Hofplien-den Haag—Scheveningen, which is electrificated since 1907, the total length of the electric lines is 135 kilometres. The current transmitted is of 1,500 volt direct.

Experiments are being made over a section between Utrecht and Gouda, as well as on another small section, with automatic electric signalling. This has proved highly satisfactory, and no failure of importance has been recorded during the last years in spite of severe weather conditions.

It may be noted here that the signalling arrangements in Holland, and generally on the Continent, are different from those on the British railways. Both for lights and for flags, red indicates danger, green caution, and white is for road-clear. There are of course the usual block regulations and working on absolute block system.

The trains in Holland keep to right instead of to the left and consequently the signal hands and posts are placed in a reverse position from the British system. Moreover, although the danger position for the signal hands is similar and is horizontal, in the free position the outer end of the signal hand is raised up instead of being lowered down. White light is shown at home and distant signals to permit a train to pass the signal freely. For stations, crossings, junctions and facing points, involving some amount of danger, two-hand distant signals are provided, which are meant to give three kinds of directions to engine-drivers according to the position of the home signal, namely, (*a*) one arm vertical and the other hanging down 45% , showing two green lights for proceeding with caution and speed restriction, with stop at the home-signal; (*b*) one hand vertical and the other raised up 45% showing two white lights for free passing over through track ; and (*c*) one hand 45% from vertical and the other 45% from horizontal falling from above and showing one white and one green light to allow free movement over a side track with necessary speed restriction of 45 K. M. per hour. The distance between the distant and home signals is usually 700 metres In addition to Home and distant signals "Fog" signals are permanently fixed at a distance of 150 metres from the distant signal. These are merely wooden boards placed at an incline at a convenient height so that the light from the engine may fall on them as they are passed. The boards are painted with white stripes on a black background.

In addition to these, various kinds of shunting signals are used, both on high or dwarf poles as necessary. For cross-over shunting work, involving occupation of running lines, white square board signals are used for permit and similar boards with red cross to indicate danger. These are generally interlocked ~~with~~ main line crossing points and block signals. The position of and distance between a home and a distant signal and such other requirements are controlled as usual by definite guiding rules. Single lines are worked under the block system without any staff or token, adjoining block instruments being always interlocked with the signals. The larger stations have separate and sometimes special platform signals, indicators, and starting signals. Guards carry instead of flag-signals, a special staff with a coloured disc at the end to signal the starting of trains at stations. They use whistles as well to draw the attention of drivers. At Mashalling Yards shunters and the foremen use sirens and calls, together with special types of hand

HENRIK IBSEN

Life.

I.

One is not so sure whether it is not a paradox that while there is probably no school-boy or school-girl in India, past the primary course, who has not heard of Shakespeare and some of his works, there are few, very few indeed, even among those equipped with university education, who can be said to possess at least a cursory knowledge of some of the greatest literary geniuses in the Continent of Europe. In nothing is our aloofness and insularity of outlook more markedly betrayed than in our colossal ignorance of world movements, outside our own land, whether in the realm of letters, art or politics. Stray articles, informative and critical, on Fascism, Bolshevism, Tolstoi, 'Revival of Letters in the Continent,' and such like form the occasional feature of some of our prominent journals. When they appear, meteor-like, they stir some enthusiasm in isolated minds and are soon forgotten. Pandit Jwaharlal Nehru remarked, not without a touch of exaggeration, that no one in India really understood what Socialism was. The same may be said perhaps of all other movements in the modern world—Syndicalism, Bolshevism, Fascism. How many of us know of Sorel or Labriola or Marx or D'Annunzio? Yet they have all, every one of them, made history. How many of us again have heard of Turgeniey, Dostoievski, Hebbel, Strindberg, Björnson or Ibsen? Yet, they have all made literature as much as, if not more than, Shakespeare, Goethe or Victor Hugo!

Surely there must be something in this. While the name of Ibsen is a household word with millions in Europe and America, while hundreds of first-rate actors during the past fifty years or so have been straining their nerves to interpret best Ibsen's great characters on the stage, while in every centre of Western Culture, Ibsen clubs and Ibsen debates and Ibsen memorials are being started every day, while, in short, the critics and dramatists of our century and the eighteen-nineties have been unequivocally proclaiming that Ibsen is pre-eminently the creator of Modern drama, we, in India, are content to 'assume the god, affect the nod and seem to shake the spheres.' What the hypothetical gentleman said in Mr. Gilbert Norwood's essay in answer to the question 'Pray, Sir, what is your opinion of Mrs. Virginia Wolf?' may be applied *in toto* to what we can expect of an ordinary educated Indian with reference to Ibsen. You may fancy him saying—'No opinion of mine, my dear Guildernstern, would be of much use to you, as regards Ibsen. I fear I am an old fogey. This modern people seem to me to have lost their way. Fielding and Jane Austen are enough for me.' But the truth of the matter is, Fielding and Jane Austen (and we may add Shakespeare and Sir Walter Scott), if we do not want to allow our outlook to be crippled, are *not* enough for us. Literature as much as life is a live thing, a changing, a growing phenomenon: and they alone live who drink of the past while yet ceaselessly feeding on the present.

Let me go a step further. The wonder is not that we know so little of Ibsen and other outstanding continental literary figures, but that we should find it impossible to conceive of Ibsen and Björnson as something more than a myth, and of Scandinavian literature as something not far removed from reality. We stubbornly refuse to countenance even such possibilities. 'Shakespeare is Drama, Drama Shakespeare; that is all ye know on Earth and all ye need to know.' This rather ineffectual parody would however seem effectively to sum up our knowledge of Western Dramatic Literature. How else are we to justify the minute and soul-blasting knowledge our under-graduates are compelled to acquire on dates and sources, weak endings and feminine endings, so far as the plays of Shakespeare are concerned, while they are kept in religious ignorance with regard to the divers currents and cross-currents of the literature of recent times? It certainly is an intellectual crime for an educated person not once to have felt his heart-throb while conjuring up before him the visions painted over the pages of Tolstoi: or to have even denied himself the pleasure of finding an inner echo to the refined sentiments as are revealed in a novel of Turgeniev; or yet to have missed the moral significance and the reformative spirituality that vibrate in the tragic crisis of an Ibsen play. Yet, we have, most of us, to plead guilty to the charge. But for such sustained pleasure as Ibsen has afforded me, such entrancing music that his poetry has whispered in my ears, such thrill which his works have given me by holding to universal scorn the tyranny and the hollow mockery of the Bastille of modern civilization,—but for them, I would not have ventured to write about Ibsen. And further, in writing what follows about Ibsen, I have two objects in view: first, that others too may learn to know of Norway's greatest man and in fact one of the greatest dramatists any nation had ever produced; and second, that it may serve as an act of humble homage to the Light that has led me long.

II.

Henrik Ibsen was born on the 20th March, 1828. His father was Knud Ibsen, a prosperous merchant in Skien so well described by Henrik as 'a lively and sociable town entirely different from what it was afterwards to come.' To the end the impressionable Henrik retained a vivid recollection of the early years spent in Skien, and all the joy and all the pang that went a long way to make him the man he proved to be, it was with significant emotion that he wrote long afterwards: 'The Skien Fair came off in February and it was a happy time for us boys. We began to save our shillings six months beforehand for the jugglers and rope dancers and circus riders and for the purchase of honeycakes in the fair booths.' As a boy, young Henrik was remarkable for the seriousness of his tone, the dignity of his bearing and his passion for uninterrupted seclusion in the company of his books. The son of a rich man of business, the luxuries of what Marie Corelli christened as the upper ten, were within young Ibsen's reach. And he did not repulse them. He was not averse to being in the company of the scions of the aristocratic families of Skien. The pomp and splendour now and again dimmed the vision but was powerless to extinguish the flame. Nor was the state of affairs to last long. The irrevocable wheel of Destiny swung round with sudden malignity in an unexpected direction. Scarce eight years old, Henrik's father was a ruined man, and unhonoured, unnoticed, the former Knud driving in state in his conspicuous glass carriage retired to the small Venstob farm, on the outskirts of Skien, and started to piece together the broken fragments of his business hopes.

But the world was the gainer by this unexpected crash. The innate characteristics, which, had other circumstances prevailed might well have been dulled to death, now asserted themselves prominently in the boy's character. The eldest of five children, he felt the blow and suffered under the force. It was not all smooth sailing for the family to make both ends meet ; it was almost like attempting the impossible to reconcile the high standards of living they had set to themselves with their own impoverished means of meeting them. Thus it chanced that Henrik so early had the opportunity to feel and study for himself this acute problem of the few rich and the many poor, the unequal, almost unnatural distribution of property and other such sociological questions which he was to tackle with doggedness in his dramas. Suffice it to say he grew unduly meditative ; the veil of gloom became impenetrable, he was at times so fiercely occupied with himself in his peculiarly grave attitude, preternaturally sincere, that he would not brook interruption from any quarter whatsoever. The story is told of him by his biographer, Henrik Jaegar, how once he locked himself up in the kitchen, surrounded by books most of which he could only appreciate in their pictures, and how stubbornly he refused to be disturbed in his study by his four younger brothers and sisters, clamorously calling out for Ibsen to come out and join the game. To join the game? He was not meant for such things; so he was thinking and unmoved by the piteous entreaties outside, he remained within, dimly turning over Harryson's History of England and only occasionally raising his eyes to catch the sight of the hour glass before him.

The reversal of his father's fortune put an abrupt end to what hopes he might have cherished of higher education. Nor was there much to regret. Under no circumstances he could have been a successful student. That required too little of brilliance and too much of mediocrity, and both ways Henrik was poles apart. Nor could he with his temperamental sensitiveness and soul-consciousness permit himself to be an eternal burden on his family's humble resources. Soon after he was fourteen, like many another lad of fortune, he left home for better and entered the greater arena of the world to wrestle best with life's great problems and join the never-ending struggle for existence.

III.

The scene changes. It is Grimsted now. A regular stream of customers and patients flows in and out of the apothecary's office wondering at the bewildering silent creature, young, yet profoundly thoughtful, gloomy, yet closely attentive to everything that is around him. For six years was Ibsen fated to be assistant here, compounding drafts with a mechanical air, washing bottles and handling mortars and pestles and spoons and glasses and all the various concommitants of a chemist's shop. Was all this bustle an echo of the greater unrest of the world? Did it send a symbolic thrill setting his imagination in quick vibration? How sparing his talk, how reserved his manners, how grave his attitude! Was it humanity or demon that possessed him? He had a great life-purpose assuredly; he was writing poems breathing the distilled fervour of a boiling spirit, and beyond that? An apothecary's assistant and no more? Was that after all to be his destiny?

It is not seldom that grains of parallelism are found in the life-history of great geniuses. At any rate, for once two geniuses struck the same note and met the same empty applause, the great Samuel Johnson hoped to burst into fame with his '*Irene,* and in spite of the selfless devotion of Garrick, the move was a failure. Ibsen too, finding an asylum in a friend's ill-furnished room in Christiania and away from the bottle-cleaning drudgery behind the apothecary's counter, turned his thoughts on Drama. '*Catiline*' was the result. And despite his friend's push and invigorating optimism, it all ended, an empty dream! The piles of well-packed volumes embodying the earliest attempt at Drama of the greatest dramatist of the age, were pronounced no worthier than out-of-date paper bundles suitable for wrapping parcels! The hawker's eyes flashed in illumination and he bought the whole lot. And Ibsen and his friend had more breathing space and cash enough for their immediate necessaries in life!

Thus did his inherent gloom deepen into a sterner melancholy. Poverty chilled him; it cut him deep, it sharpened his intellect and gave it the keener edge. But he was not idle; nor diffident about ultimate success. How could he fail to know the common truth. 'Slow rises worth by poverty depressed!' He hurled himself in the whirl of journalistic enterprise. He even handled the dry dust of controversial politics which heaped upon his head much odium. But he was no static thing; he was a dynamic force moving towards the centre, slowly yet surely; for though the goal was distant and arduous the struggle, should he lose heart and quail tremblingly before his opponents?

That was not Ibsen-like. He would remain in the fray still!

At last he was in sight of one of the green isles in the torrential ocean of illusive life. With avidity he landed ashore. The post of 'stage poet' in the theatre at Bergen fell vacant with pay no more than £67 a year *plus* £47 as travelling allowance, if that should be deemed necessary, and Ibsen accepted the job with quiet content. This was in 1850. The first stages of the French Revolution, that colossal explosion, had sent waves of discordant nature throughout the length and breadth of Europe. Ibsen, no less than his great countryman and friend, Björnstjerne Björnson, was profoundly affected by the sudden upheaval of an established order. The watchwords of the French Revolution received sympathetic vibrations in his own soul. He studied the movement with the thoroughness and the passion characteristic of him and set to prepare a suitable background to construct the lofty edifices of his dramatic genius. But this was not all. His entry into the theatre brought him further benefits in the shape of a thorough discipline in stage-technique. He came into intimate contact with stage tricks and manipulations, the whims of actors and the drawbacks of financially embarrassed theatres. In a word he mastered stage-technique at first hand. Yet, even this, taken alone, would have mattered very little. There was still another avenue to his activities whose influence upon his mental development can never be under-rated. His very situation in the theatre demanded of him an intimate knowledge of the works of great dramatists of Europe and so he became, as time went on, more and more familiar with the masterpieces of Shakespeare, Moliere, Goethe, Racine and Scribe.

IV.

The moment was ripe for action and Henrik Ibsen was not the person given to undue vacillation. He had the tools to work out his figures—not the figures in cardboard the creation of which had once beguiled the mind of the precocious boy in early years, but figures in flesh and blood who were to send a thrill throughout the entire Continent of Europe. He had the imaginative outlook and the passionate yearning to analyse social institutions, their vagaries and vices, their follies and foibles: he had the necessary mastery over stage-technique: he had mastered the treasures of the language: and above all he had eschewed all that was noble, all that was truly worthy in the dramas of his predecessors. What need for any more delay?

His plays, issued one by one, were played with success in his own theatre at Bergen. These were all saga-dramas, translating in poetic drama the traditional Norwegian folklore in the model of Björnson's own inimitable pieces. '*Lady Inger of Ostraat*' (1855), '*The Feast of Solhaug*' (1856) and '*Olaf Liljekrans*' (1857) are some of the most important of the fruits of his dramatic endeavour during these years. However, much as they impressed the audience and delighted the readers, they had no special claim to distinction. A further step was taken when he joined the Norwegian theatre at Christiania as art director—a far more distinguished post which brought him nearer the goal. He produced about this time '*The Chieftains of Heligoland*,' somewhat in the Shakespearian cast. For four years he worked at his job. The guerdon seemed almost within reach, the apple of reward came within sight. Yet the guerdon receded far backwards, and the fruit clung close to the branches. One single gesture turned the edifice upside down and his dreamy castle toppled down like a house of cards.

The fact was, in 1862, he produced '*The Comedy of Love*,' one of the most outrageously impertinent works ever written in any age. A conglomeration of startling wit and amusing caricature, autobiography and biting satire, a sneaking sense and a refined flavour, and all in a jumble of antitheses—these enraged the puzzled audience and caused a storm to gather round the young aspirant to fame. But happily it did not engulf him and submerge him : he survived as all great heroes have, under equally harrowing straits, survived. He resigned his post and approached the government, at the teeth of the unparalleled animosity against him for a travelling pension. Insuperable obstacles stood in his way but courage spurred him on and he won. Muttering and cursing the very humanity that was so near his heart, and fretting and fuming over the unimaginative intellectual lethargy of his countrymen, he left the shores of Norway in 1864, wishing like Byron never to return to his native soil.

V.

He returned at last, however. But not till he had wandered from one European city to another in a desultory manner for over a quarter of century of his precious life. He even went to far-off Egypt and was the Khedive's distinguished guest. He travelled endlessly, aimlessly, recording impressions of Nature's infinite bounties, of man's faults and failings, of human emotions of every dye and every hue; cut off from the scene of his original activities, he had enough time for meditation away from the storm centre ; the troubled waters of his emotions regained their calm. And two indubitable masterpieces followed, gaining for their author an immediate international reputation. Into the excellences of these gigantic poetic dramas, '*Brand*' (1866) and '*Peter Gynt*' (1867), it is needless to enter at present. For our purpose here, it is sufficient to mention what changes such phenomenal success brought in its equipage for Ibsen. Norway and Sweden recognised his genius. The Western world and the Press rang with his praises in one big chorus. He was choked with letters of congratulation, of praise, and of warm-hearted encouragement. The Norwegian Storthing, to crown all, settled upon him a substantial 'poet's pension,' which placed him beyond any pecuniary worries. And Ibsen and his wife and son took abode in the little town of Frascati among the blue hills and under the sunny radiance of Italy. Rest at last seemed to become his, and contentment and happiness. But all this were more intense than lasting. Four more years found him again an aimless wanderer in alien cities, gloomy, serious, and filled with thoughts sublime.

Dissipation set in once more. He was now in Berechtsgader, amidst the Salzburg Alps, vaguely wondering at the sky-labouring columns of rock and stone and green: now roaming agitatedly in the streets of Dresden and Munich, revolving new schemes of social regeneration and consumed for hours in his own painful, almost repellent self-centredness. It was however during these months of new-fashioned dejection that the five-act comedy of the '*Young Men's League*' was evolved and out of the very tumult of his imagination constructed and given to the world. It was in March 1869. It bore the impress of a changed attitude: it was cast in a different mould. But the event passed with scant notice. Within a very short interval another play followed: this time it was '*Emperor and Galileon,*' an immense work, two distinct plays ill-knit together as one but, nevertheless, breathing the mystic fervour of a grim idealist. Yet there was no thrill, no startling note, no revolutionary flourish of trumpets and beating of drums. And the event was unnoticed too save for a few appreciations from individual authors and critics.

VI.

Ibsen was about fifty years of age. What had he accomplished? A few imitations at Saga Drama, and of course '*Brand*' and '*Peter Gynt.*' But '*Brand*' and '*Peter Gynt*'—did any one really understand them? An emphatic 'No.' They were more admired than understood. Could it possibly be he could do no more? What he had done was too little, not worth his ambition nor the rigorous training he had undergone. Was he all along beating about the bush? His real genius, where did it lie? Where was secreted the barrel of inspiration that all through life he had longed to tap? Would it elude him for ever? And he would die! the world would remain where it was and he would have lived in vain! Was that to be the end after all?

Such contortions of his intellectual earnestness had probably been common about this time. Meanwhile he was indolent, lost as he was in the maze of his introspective questionings. Then, unexpected, on October 11, 1877, the solution of his mysterious puzzles was thrown on the bewildered threshold of the world. Upon the stage of every town in Europe was played '*The Pillars of Society.*' Europe was taken by storm. All Scandinavia went mad over the enthralling play. A new significance unpremeditated even in the wildest flights of prophecy seemed to have taken possession of this play. Was it due to its slashing vitality, its satirical tone, its contrapuntal art, its revolutionary appeal, its evocation of multitudinous life with minute particularity? Whatever the cause, one thing was absolutely certain. The stage-success of the play, what with its close-knit dialogues and strict conformity to the conventions of stage-technique was as immediate as overwhelming. Berlin, London, Paris, Copenhagen, New York, everywhere the Ibsen vogue proved tempestuous, irresistible and sustaining.

Brilliant though its dialogues, ingenious and defective its plot, it was not with '*Pillars of Society*' that Ibsen was destined to reach the highwater mark of his dramatic genius. His art was still on the ascendant and was yet to soar sky-high. That happened when two years later he produced '*A Doll's House.*' Here at last he reached the summit from whose vantage position he could survey humanity with one magnificent swoop—'silent upon a peak in Darien.' The characters are not puppets but beings throbbing with the breath of creation. Was he in possession of that 'Promethean heat?' We will never know. But who could resist its pages and remain unmoved? It became an international treasure. Some thought that such a feat might never be equalled, not to say surpassed. However Ibsen himself gave it the lie direct with his '*Ghosts*.' The play is unique not alone among Ibsen's works but in the whole range of the world's literature. A horrid hallucination of a drama, it concentrates its arts in the effective presentation of ghostly visions and ghastly spectres, their prophetic denunciations and exploding anguish, all screened by the veil of dialogue and the tragic principle of heredity. Masefield's '*The Tragedy of Nan*' alone of all modern imitations can be pronounced a very weak second to this immortal play.

'*Ghosts*' with its unrelieved poignancy of human tragedy alternately puzzled and maddened the critics. Conscious of its truth yet abhorrent of its nature, appreciative of the extraordinary perfection of the art yet dimly suspicious of the wisdom of the execution, the play excited an unprecedented volume of discussion. The glory of modern civilization almost glittered in the passing cloud. Society was shaken to its very foundations.

The inviolability of moral laws and man-made customs was rigorously questioned. And Ibsen had at last succeeded in rousing his brethren from their age-long slumber of unintrospective ignorance. He was almost satisfied.

VII.

Almost, yet not quite. More dramas, each with its own singular shrill cry—'Awake, arise or be for ever fallen'—flowed from his pen. '*An Enemy of the People*' (1882), '*The Wild Duck*' and '*Rosmersholm*' (1886), '*The Lady from the Sea*' and '*Hedda Gabbler*' (1890) followed one another in a row of grand succession. Modern drama was in full swing: the creator with benevolent eyes was himself contributing to its growth and high sustenance. His vagaries were forgotten: his bitter strictures on the social fabric were received in their true spirit and men learned to look deep into his purpose. Norway realised her folly and regretted her unkindness to her greatest son. Ibsen was transported with unimaginable joy when he gauged the universal welcome that was accorded to him. Hereafter he was the national idol. The Past, too sweet to forget and too bitter to heal, became dimmer and dimmer. And Ibsen was content to bury the past 'deeper than ever plummet sounded' and live in the reigning present.

But his pen—it was not lying idle. '*The Master Builder*' (1892), '*Little Eyolf,*' '*John Gabriel Bookman*' (1896) and '*When We Dead Awaken*' (1899) come under this, his final period of dramatic activity. They all maintained a uniform level of excellence without actually reaching the perfection of '*Ghosts*' or '*A Doll's House*' though in '*When We Dead Awaken*' there are not wanting signs of the weakening of constructive power, inevitably inherent with old age. But he had accomplished enough. He had fought the battle of life undaunted and won the bet: he had triumphed over life's major ironies without doubt: he had discharged his duty to mankind and delivered to them his mission. He was rich and happy, adored by his countrymen and admired throughout the world. He had inaugurated Modern Drama on the threshold of the new Industrial Civilisation. The fruits of his endeavour? That certainly was not his concern but the world's.

VIII.

Ever since he was five years old his innate characteristics had worked on him undismayed with unparalleled strength. It was perhaps due to the inscrutable working of Destiny that a similar period of five years of respite should be granted to Ibsen at the end. Be that as it may, in 1901, the dramatist's mind suddenly gave way and he inherited his [illegible]
He lingered on for five years and o[illegible]
1906, he passed away in his [illegible]

He had been, it is said, during these five years unconscious of everything around him: yet who could be sure of the inner workings of the mind of so superb a personality even during its weakest stages? Humanity and mysterious gloom were never united more relevantly or more pathetically. But there is another vision far more interesting fleeting before our imagination—of a small, grim, serious lad, all alone in a dingy kitchen, turning over the pages of Harryson's History of England!

And in such a Paradise of Letters we leave Henrik Ibsen!

(*To be continued.*)

K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

BRAHMANISM, MONASTICISM AND BUDDHISM

Introduction.

The psychology of "falsifier" of scriptures of all religion is an interesting study. The truth indicated by scriptures has a universal aspect independent of all external conditions—political, social, climatic and time and place generally. It is comparable with a mathematical formula applicable to all numbers and other objective realities. As in the organic world an organism to live must have continuous adjustment with its environment and die on failure of that condition, so a religion becomes extinct on failure of adjustment with the external life of its followers. One way of averting such consequence is by successive commentaries on the original scriptures. Another way is by an individual teacher reducing himself to the type of the original teacher or revealer, by disregarding his own individuality and in using the revealer's or collector's name in fresh productions leaving the original untouched. He at the same time illustrates their meaning with varying degrees of success. But to trace current needs and mind of the author of such additions is essential to make the action not wholly unintelligible. Such are the Puranas—all attributed to Vyasa. The falsification of scripture with a personal motive deserves no consideration. Let the above serve as an introduction to the present subject.

But complete self-elimination in the type can rarely be perfect. The result of imperfect self-elimination, through individual peculiarities of emotion and imagination, clouding serenity of the intellect, which alone is universal, presents no great difficulty to understand. Poetic imageries are taken as realities and hyperbolic exaggerations as literal truth and create difficulties in the apprehension of truth. Honest exegetists [illegible] recognise and truly value what is called by some " [illegible] But the Puranas are only for the [illegible] for faith to which the scriptures of the "three-fold path" are the principal guide,—such is the exegetical doctrine of Brahmanism.

Brâhmanism, Monasticism and Buddhism.

Monasticism is an integral part of the religion preached by the great Buddha. Even if any similar institution pre-existed, its extent and influence are wholly negligible. It seems not unprofitable to examine, however cursorily it may be, the social and religious conditions attendant on its rise and spread. A tradition is prevalent among classes of Puranic Pundits in different parts of India which seems to be not without its bearing on the subject. According to this tradition Satatapa, eleventh in descent from King Janamejaya, was killed by his minister who was of the Sudra caste. Holy Brahmans assembled in protest against the misdeed and desired the usurper to restore the kingdom to the royal blood and to retire from the world. The regicide usurper refused. Thereupon the custodians of Brahmanic polity expatriated themselves from the kingdom of ancient Delhi and sought refuge in a Himalayan village called Kalapa to watch over the spiritual welfare of their native land. To trace the origin of this tradition is a scholarly task as yet unaccomplished. In the Mahavarata [1] Kalapa gives shelter to Krishna's widow, Satyabhama and other ladies of his family. The Bhagavata Purana [2] mentions it as the birth-place of the Brahmanic caste-revival of the remote future. It is somewhat curious to note that the Brahmanic revival headed by Sankaracharya, had its origin at Badrinarayan in the Himalayas. According to his biographers his commentaries on the canonical scriptures of Brahmanism were composed on this spot.

To return to the tradition : Badrinarâyana or Badarikasrama [illegible] Puranic authority is regarded to be the spiritual refuge of the

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[illegible] Adhava 7. Slokas 250, 251.

sage Vyasa from which will spring forth the future regeneration of the four castes and the connected system of faith and works. One wonders whether it is a baseless dream to identify Kalapa with Badrinarayana. The Brahman offscourings left after the exodus to Kalapa are said to have prepared false scriptures under the influence of royal favours. A ray of light converges on this point from the saying of Buddha recorded in one of the earliest scriptures of his followers—the Sutta Nipata.

" 17. There was however, a change in them, from their having gradually seen the wealth of kings, and well-decorated women.

18. And well-made chariots, yoked to excellent horses and covered with carpets of elegant stitching, and houses and rooms divided into portions.

19. The Brahmans coveted the great enjoyments of men, which consisted in a number of beautiful women, and droves of oxen.

20. For the sake of these, having composed Mantras, they went to (King) Okkaka (and said), Thou art possessed of manifold wealth ; give us thy vast riches ; offer us thy immense wealth.

21. And then the king, the lord of chariots, persuaded by these Brahmans, made these sacrifices, Assamedha, Purisamedha, Sammapasa, Vajapeyya, (and) gave without hindrance the Brahmans wealth, (such as).

30. This old sin of injuring (living beings) has come down (to this day). Innocent cows are killed. Priests have fallen off from their virtues.

31. Thus this old (and) mean act is despised by the wise. Men despise a priest in whom such vice is found.

32. Thus virtue being lost, the Suddas and Vessas were separated. The Khattiyas were also widely separated. (And the wife disregarded her husband.)

33. The Khattiyas, Brahmans, and others who kept up their caste disputes, laying aside their caste disputes, came under the influence of lusts.

Sutta Nipata, Brahmanadhammika Sutta, VII, by

Sir. M Coomaraswamy)"

Buddha's testimony was about a century older than the Nanda Period and must be taken to refer to other similar works. After warm commendations on the faith and character of ancient Brahmans the Bhagavan bears testimony to the original purity and excellence of Brahmin character both ascetic and householder. And then he declares the degeneration of Brahmins as due to worldly lusts for the gratification of which they had to subjugate the royal mind.

Authentic history of North India records an event not wholly dissimilar. The revolutionist founder of the Nanda dynasty of Kings was born of a mother who was of the Sudra caste. Naturally Brahmans whose whole hope of life was based on the four-fold system of caste, as can be naturally expected, retired from the glare of royal favour while those who preferred worldly welfare to all other considerations gained royal favour without competi tion and caste. Having thus cast away the antecedent foundation of social supremacy the Brahmans, favoured by royal patronage, had to erect a new foundation to support their position. This may appear to have been done by claiming special heredity, evidenced by fair complexion. The conspiracy which hastened the destruction of the Nanda dynasty was led by a Brahman who used as his tool a dark Brahman brutally treated for his complexion by the King with whom the Nanda dynasty came to an end. The story is well related by Sudraka in *Mudra Rakshasha*. In this light viewed, a complete picture can be seen of what underlies the facts of hitsory. The Brahman conspirator's name has been handed down as Kutila or the artful one, he has handed down to posterity his maxims for attainment of worldly success and his recently discovered "Artha Sastra" or science of wealth.

The concord between Buddha and ancient Brahman tradition as regards the falsification of scriptures by their unworthy custodians must be carefully noted in order to remove surprise from the absence of the canonical scriptures of Brahmanism and their teachings from the centres of learning so arduously searched by Buddha after his great Renunciation.

It may not be devoid of interest to cite here the opinion of Rammohun Roy as preserved by his friend and disciple Chandra Sekhar Deb, one of the earliest English-educated Bengalis :—

"The traditional histories of what men had done and spoken in their progress through civilization were separately gathered in the Puranas and Itihasas to which the Vedas frequently referred. The facts detailed in these latter works were from the beginning not entirely free from fables and stories, specially of divine interference in the affairs of man; and the Bauddha animosities and scuffles that, in spite of the tolerant principles of the Hindoo creed, ensued not long after those literary collections were made, led to the fabrication of new tales and added to the errors that had previously crept into the authentic facts of Vyasa. Such seem to have been the views of Ram Mohun Roy regarding the early histories of the Jews and Hindoos.

It is also an undeniable fact, he used to say, that the genius of the Hindoos tended to the cultivation more of the imagination and the reasoning faculties of the mind than of the memory which is so very deceptive at times and in all places. In spite of the official Reports and Government proclamations of the present times there are falsehoods creeping into the details of facts on every occasion of the European wars and quarrels in India during the last century. No wonder then that history of every poet of the world is replete with fictions of every sort.''

Further—'' Ram Mohun Roy often told me that an excellent history of India could very well be written out of the materials of the Mahabharata and Ramayana and some of the Puranas, but that it required great critical powers of the mind to do this. Such powers were in exercise amongst the Jews during many centuries before the Books of Moses received their existing form. The nature of the Hindoo Government and the commotion to which Buddha and his followers gave rise in Hindoo Society threw the Indian nations backwards in respect to this branch of literature. Their chronology was entirely falsified by the Brahmans on the basis of astronomy and their biographies were all lost or turned into fables.''

Extract taken from '' Reminiscence of Ram Mohan Roy, By a friend .'—which appeared in the Tatlabodhini Patrika, page 174. *published in Magh (parts of January and Eebruarg, in the year 1794 (Saka) = 1873)*

Regret must be felt that these reminiscences are not separately published for general circulation.

It is to be observed not without satisfaction that Sir K. G. Bhandarkar's ''critical mind'' successfully sublimated much history from some of the Puranas.

Note must be taken that under later influence of popular Hinduism as distinguished from Brahmanism Ram Mohun Roy, notwithstanding his long wanderings and extensive scholarship, had no knowledge of Buddhism beyond what he picked up most probably in Thibet that the first Cause was time.[1]

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Collected English Works of Raja Ram Mohan Roy……………

…………………………………………………… Long before Ram Mohun Roy's time and not later than the 6th century

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Universal Religion.

A.D. the only knowledge of Mahayana Buddhism is traceable in Gaudacharya from whom Sankara was the second in spiritual descent. It is the Mahayana doctrine concerning Adi Buddha identified by him with Prakriti. It needs scarcely be added that the Brahmasutra notices only the Hinayana systems of Buddhist philosophy current at the time. Foreigners have now brought back the knowledge of Buddhism to the land of its birth.

Buddha and his teachings may be viewed from the stand point of concordant Brahmanism preserved in what are to be taken as its canonical scriptures. Faith in the Supreme Reality, to be acquired by hearing and assimilating the sacred word. Faith is declared to be super-rational and not irrational. Faith is never inseparable from its twin sister love. This teaching is summed up in the Bhagavad Gita.

"Hating no creature, full of brotherly love and compassionate, devoid of myness, devoid of egotism, equal towards suffering and enjoyment, forgiving.

Ever content, of tranquil heart, with nature subjugated, firm in intent, and with thought and faith given up to me ; whoso is my devotee is dear unto me.

(*Bhagavat Gita, XII, 13-14*).

The Faith to which Brahmanism calls mankind in the name of truth is not true because it is declared by any particular individual but it is so declared because it is intrinsically true. The "Bhagavad Gita" is the declaration of Krishna. It is accepted as the expression of truth. In words of Sankara's commentary it expresses the essence of the Upanishats. The Isopanishat declares evil end of those who rest contented with scriptural words and works.

"Those observers of religious rites that perform only ~~the~~ worship of the sacred fire, and oblations to sages, to ancestors, to men and the other creatures, without regarding the worship of celestial gods, shall enter into the dark regions : and those practisers of religious ceremonies who habitually worship the the celestial gods only, disregarding the worship of the sacred fire, and oblations to sages, to ancestors, to men and to other creatures, shall enter into a region still darker than the former."

(*Isho Upanishad, 9, English translation by Raja Rammohun Roy.*)

What may be called in Christian Theology the doctrine of revelation is thus historically summarised in the Svetasvatara Upanishad :

"Who in the beginning calls Brahma (the Archangel of creation) into Being—who transmits the Vedas into him even in that deity manifestor of cognition of self I, desirous of liberation (from conditional existence) seek refuge."

Svetasvatara Upanishat, IV, 18.

The Vedic Mantras are believed to be seen by Rishis or seers, but they declare ideas not naturally to be seen. The truth is true not because it is seen but it is seen because it is true. This is the view of authoritative Brahman theology put in modern fashion of speech. It is to be repeated that faith in supreme, eternal reality, is superrational but not irrational. Reason by itself, unassisted by declaration of the sacred word cannot lead to unshakable harmony of faith. This is clearly borne out by the following aphorism of the Brahma Sutram and Sankara's Commentary on it.

"If it be said that in consequence of the ill-foundedness of reasoning, we must frame our conclusions otherwise; (we reply that) thus also there would result non-release." (Bramhasutram, II, A. I. p. 11).

"In matters to be known from Scripture mere reasoning is ~~not~~ to be relied on for the following reason also. As thoughts of man are altogether unfettered, reasoning which disregards the holy texts and rests on individual opinion only has no proper foundations. We see how arguments, which some clever men had excogitated with great pains, are shown by people still more ingenious, to be fallacious, and how the arguments of the latter again are refuted in their turn by other men; so that, on account of the diversity of men's opinions, it is impossible to accept mere reasoning as having a sure foundation. Nor can we get over this difficulty by accepting as well-founded the reasoning of some person of recognised mental eminence, may he now be Kapila or any body else; since we observe that even men of the most undoubted mental eminence, such as Kapila, Kanada, and other founders of philosophical schools, have contradicted one another.

" But (our adversary may here be supposed to say), we will fashion our reasoning otherwise, *i.e.*, in such a manner as not to lay it open to the charge of having no proper foundation. You cannot after all maintain that no reasoning whatever is well-founded; for you yourself can found your assertion that reasoning has no foundation on reasoning only; your assumption being that because some arguments are seen to be devoid of foundation other arguments as belonging to the same class are likewise devoid of foundation. Moreover, if all reasonings were unfounded, the whole course of practical human life would have to come to an end. For we see that men act, with a view to obtaining pleasure and avoiding pain in the future time, on the assumption that the past, the present, and the future are uniform. Further in the case of passages of Scripture (apparently) contradicting each other, the ascertainment of the real sense, which depends on a preliminary refutation of the apparent sense, can be effected only by an accurate definition of the meaning of sentences, and that involves a process of reasoning. Thus Manu also expresses himself : ' Perception, inference, and the sastra according to the various traditions, this triad is to be known well by one desiring clearness in regard to right.—He who applies reasoning not contradicted by the Veda to the Veda and the (Smriti) doctrine of law, he, and no other, knows the law ' (Manu Smriti, XII, 105, 106). And that ' want of foundation,' to which you object, really constitutes the beauty of reasoning, because it enables us to arrive at unobjectionable arguments by means of the previous refutation of objectionable arguments. (No fear that because the purvapaksha is ill-founded the siddhanta should be ill-founded too;) for there is no valid reason to maintain that a man must be stupid because his elder brother was stupid.—For all these reasons the want of foundation cannot be used as an argument against reasoning.

"Against this argumentation we remark that thus also there results 'want of release.' For although with regard to some things reasoning is observed to be well-founded, with regard to the matter in hand there will result 'want of release,' *viz.*, of the reasoning from this very fault of ill-foundedness. The true nature of the cause of the world on which final emancipation depends cannot, on account of its excessive abstruseness, even be thought of without the help of the holy texts; for, as already remarked, it cannot become the object of perception, because it does not possess qualities such as form and the like, and as it is devoid of characteristic signs, it does not lend itself to inference and the other means of right knowledge. Or else, (if we adopt another explanation of the word 'avimoksha') all those who teach the final release of the soul are agreed that it results from perfect knowledge. Perfect knowledge has the characteristic mark of uniformity, because it depends on accomplished actually existing things; for whatever thing is permanently of one and the same nature is acknowledged to be a true or real thing, and knowledge conversant about such is called perfect knowledge, as, for instance, the knowledge embodied in the proposition, 'fire is hot.' Now, it is clear that in the case of perfect knowledge a mutual conflict of men's opinions is impossible. But that cognitions founded on reasoning do conflict is generally known; for we continually observe that what one logician endeavours to establish as perfect knowledge is demolished by another, who, in his turn, is treated alike by a third. How therefore can knowledge, which is founded on reasoning, and whose object is not something permanently uniform, be perfect knowledge?—Nor can it be said that he who maintains the pradhana to be the cause of the world (*i.e.* the Sankhya) is the best of all reasoners, and accepted by all philosophers ; which would enable us to accept his opinion as perfect knowledge.—Nor can we collect at a given moment and on a given spot all the logicians of the past, present, and future time, so as to settle (by their agreement) that their opinion regarding some uniform object is to be considered perfect knowledge. The Veda, on the other hand, which is eternal and the source of knowledge, may be allowed to have for its object firmly established things, and hence the perfection of that knowledge which is founded on the Veda cannot be denied by any of the logicians of the past, present or future. We have thus established the perfection of this our knowledge which reposes on the Upanishads, and as apart from it perfect knowledge is impossible, its disregard would lead to 'absence of final release' of the transmigrating souls. Our final position therefore is, that on the ground of Scripture and of reasoning subordinate to Scripture, the intelligent Brahman is to be considered the cause and substance of the world."

(Sankara's Commentary on the Brahmasutram) II, Pada I, 11. S.B.E.

Even if knowledge at this one entrance had not been quite shut out for the illiterate and hopelessly oppressed masses by the conspiracy of priest and prince very little help would have come to them from the scriptural source. For as the Bhagavad Gita teaches :

"The unwise are lovers of the praise in the Vedas, of the fruit of ceremonies prescribed therein, and are sayers of 'there is nothing else,' and repeaters of flowery shadows of speech."

"The Vedas have for their object only the assemblage of the three qualities ; be free from the three qualities, O Arjuna ; free from the pairs of opposites, constant in the quality of satva, free from acquisitiveness and desire for the preservation of what is possessed already, and not dominated by any object of sense or mind."

"As much benefit as there is in a limited expanse of water, so much is there in water stretching free on all sides: similarly, as much benefit as there is in all the Vedic rites, so much is there for the truth-realizing Brahman."

(*Bhagavad Gita, II, 43, 45 & 46.*)

The other aspect of spiritual life expressed in emotion and character, is clearly able, when exhibited in the individual life of the teacher, to help all, high and low, pure and impure, wise and unwise, learned and simple. For the sake of convenience this aspect of spiritual life is here called love or in Biblical language charity. Patanjali in his own sphere teaches us that the lover of that lover's heart is infected with that love himself which shows the worth and worthlessness of external life.

"Yoga is spiritual culture. The self-torturing and often disgusting practices of counterfeit Yogis have wrapped the subject in a mist of misconceptions. Patanjali, although his Yoga Sutram as a scripture has not the rank of those referred to, is recognised as the highest specialist in this subject, and his essential teachings so far as they go are not in discord with the "threefold path." According to him the preferable means for the attainment of Yoga is a loving attention to the Lord (Isvara) who is a soul distinct from all others, untouched by affliction, well-being, ill-being, consequences and expectations. In Him is the seed of the consummation of omniscience. Not being conditioned by time He is the teacher of all teachers who have before. Having gone described the method which enables attention to be given to Him in love, the author lays down rules for obtaining spiritual serenity. Rejoice with those that rejoice, sorrow with those that sorrow, with gladness encourage the doer of good and take no notice of the doer of evil. He prescribes to the same end the support of a heart (or chitta) devoid of attachment to the world, *i.e.*, of self-interest. The rest of his prescription shows his preference, in accordance with the whole tendency of Brahmanism, for the religious recluse." [1]

Falsification or multiplication (as the case may be) of scripture by excluding those that indicate the spiritual path and claiming sole authority for teachings of magical rites and ceremonies is strongly condemned by canonical Brahmanism. The Bhagavad Gita is prolific in such condemnations that reference to them alone is quite sufficient.

The motive for the falsification of Brahmanic scriptures is not very difficult to trace. Loving loyalty towards kings of ancient lineage is spontaneously ingrained on the popular mind. The contrary is unthinkable. The case of upstart captors of sovereignty is quite the opposite. Many artifices are necessary to rule the past out of the popular mind and imprison it in hopes for the future continuance of present enjoyment. Idealised external show, pomp and ceremony captivate the mind, and the supernatural painted thereon transforms the depressing reaction at the closing into post mortem perpetuity of mind's delight. Celestial and earthly life alternate to gratify the cravings of sense.

" They, having enjoyed that wide celestial realm enter the sphere of mortals on the exhaustion of their merit ; thus those devoted to the law of the three Vedas, and desiring desires, obtain coming and going."

Bhagavad Gita, IX,21.)

Expensive ceremonies benefited Brahmans and those connected with the capitals of the king, but ground down with poverty were those remote therefrom. The latter class unsanctified by the incense and offerings burnt in the sacred fire was deprived of celestial felicity while the suffering of heavy taxation presented a painful reality. To such sufferers the message of Buddha was curative peace.

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[1] Patanjal Sutras, 33, 37.

The lamp of love, lighted by the great Renunciation of Gautama, was intended to be kept burning by the monastic life springing forth from his example. How far the ideal of monasticism is realised everywhere and at all times is outside present consideration.

It is only necessary to point out that the Buddhism of India was known as the *Hina Jāna* or lesser vehicle.

The other aspect of spiritual life which transcends speech and reason is indicated as Nirvana, the transformation of individual life into universal through extinction of self-centered desires springing from love or *Ahiṁsā.*

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI.

THE FAN

Oh, my dear,
Your mind to me is
Becoming shallow
As the poor fan
Before the winter.

I care not, oh dear,
Though you make of
Me a fan,
If you use it
For the next summer.

JINKICHI MATSUDA

A LOST PAGE OF HISTORY

(Lutfannesa—the unfortunate Begum of Nawab Serajadowlla)

Much has already been said and written about Nawab Serajadowlla—the last unfortunate Nawab of Bengal—but few persons know that Dacca was very closely associated with the members of his family and fewer still are aware that it was in Dacca that his favourite Begum "Lutfannesa" spent some years of her life in misery and sorrow. It is a page of forgotten history which will evoke tears and which will give one more proof—if proofs were needed—of the vanity of human life and of the glorious uncertainties of royal prosperity. It was in Dacca that for seven solid years she like a true and loyal consort cherished the memory of her murdered husband with the only relic of her departed lord—her only daughter Jahura.

Not many yards from the river Buriganga opposite the city of Dacca are still to be seen the ruins of a garden-house at a place called Jinjira—a favourite resort of the Nawabs of Dacca who after the departure of Murshid Kuli Khan from this city were but the representatives of the Nawabs of Murshidabad.[1] Time in rolling its ceaseless course has told upon its magnificence and beauty and one can but with the greatest difficulty discover faint traces of its glorious past.

This garden-house at Jinjira was the home of the unfortunate members of the family of Nawab Serajadowlla who after his foul murder at Murshidabad were banished to Dacca under the orders of Mirzafar—the puppet Nawab of Murshidabad—who got the *Gudaee* at Murshidabad after Serajadowlla's death.

There is a common story that the members of Seraj's family who were so banished were Ghasite Begum and Amina

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[1] *See* Charles O'Doly's History of Old Dacca.

Begum—the aunt and mother respectively of Nawab Serajadowlla, but evidence is available which shows that this group of exiles included also Lutfannesa and her minor daughter Jahura. This is supported by Golam Hossain—the famous author of Seir Mutekherin.

The story of the tragic end of Ghasite Begum and Amina Begum is not unknown to the historian. Miran, the wicked son of Mirzafar, wanted to get rid of Serajadowlla's relations and asked the Naib of Murshidabad at Dacca—Nawab Jessarat Khan—to dispose of them. But Jessarat Khan declined to carry out Miran's wicked instructions and Miran sent the messenger of mischief himself. On the plea that they were being taken to Murshidabad the old Begums were taken into a boat which was made to sink in the river Dhaleswary. Amina while she was being drowned is said to have cursed Miran and within a month of the date of this tragedy Miran was killed by lightning at Murshidabad.

Luckily Lutfannesa Begum was not among these victims. Her story is pathetic and she is worthy of remembrance as an instance of a devoted loyal wife who shared the weal and woe of her husband through sunshine and shower.. Tradition has it that in her early life Lutfannesa was a Hindu slave girl of prepossessing appearance. Her name was Raj Kunwar and she was attached to Serajadowlla's mother. Attracted by her charms Serajadowlla fell in love with her and they were faithful to one another ' not only in life but also in death.'

Another account says that Lutfannesa was a sister of Mohan Lal who got into the good books of Serajadowlla by giving her in marriage to him. Now, whatever version is correct, it is a fact that Lutfannesa was a loyal and devoted wife. She and her daughter were the only companions of the Nawab when the latter was fleeing towards Rajmahal and was arrested by Mir Kasim.

After Seraj was foully done to death by that inhuman wretch Mahommed Beg she with her daughter was banished to

Dacca. This was about 1758 and there are reasons to believe that she was in Dacca till 1765—the year which saw the grant of Dewani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa to the English when she was permitted by the English to return to Murshidabad.

During these seven years Lutfannesa was in a miserable condition. She was awarded a pension of Rs. 600 (six hundred) but this pension she never got regularly and she suffered from the pinch of poverty. It was only after the arrival of Mahommed Reza Khan at Dacca that her condition slightly improved.[2]

Information about Jahura, Seraj's daughter, is very meagre. It is however believed that she used to suffer from insanity from time to time and was married to a man called Mir Asad Ali Khan and the children of this marriage were four daughters whose names were Sharf-un-nesa, Asmat-un-nesa, Sakina and Amat-ul-Mahdi Begums. Jahura died in the lifetime of Lutfannesa and so afterwards the pension of Rs. 600 was divided among Lutfannesa and her four grand-daughters. Lutfannesa's share was only Rs. 100 a month, while each of the four grand-daughters used to get Rs. 125 a month.[3]

Lutfannesa who died in 1790 was in Murshidabad before that year, for it was in 1789 that Haji Mustafa of Seir Mutakherin saw her there. After Lutfannesa's death, the four grand-daughters applied for the pension of their grandmother. But at first the petition was rejected by the Board of Revenue and Mr. William Douglas, Collector of Dacca, was asked to discontinue the pension of the old Begum. But later a reference being made to the Governor-General it was ordered that the sum of Rs. 100 should be equally divided among the four grand-daughters.

One of the grand-daughters, Sakina Begum, died in 1797 and one Redjbee Khanum who described herself as a sister of

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[2] *Vide* unpublished correspondence between the Board of Revenue and the Collector of Dacca.

[3] *Vide* unpublished correspondence between the Board of Revenue and Mr. William Douglas, Collector of Dacca.

Sakina Begum and the sole heir of Sakina applied for the pension of her sister to the Governor-General. The petition was endorsed by Nawab Nassarat Jung, the successor of Jessarat Khan at Dacca, but the Governor-General had the suspicion that this person was an impostor and the Board of Revenue was asked to make a sifting enquiry into her identity.[4]

That Lutfannesa was in Dacca, there is no doubt, but about her grand-daughters there are no traces available in Dacca. It appears that these grand-daughters used to live in Murshidabad but their pensions were paid from the Nizamat at Dacca.

Dacca at present has no lingering remnants of the Nawabs of Murshidabad and there is only one family which gets a small pension from Murshidabad, but Jinjira and the remains of the garden-house still bring back memories of the past and still stray travellers who happen to pass by the ruins at Jinjira are reminded of the grim tragedy at Murshidabad which brought Serajadowlla's family to grief and sorrow, of the pathetic story of the Begums Ghasite and Amina and of the plaintive and pathetic tale of Lutfannesa which history will not fail to chronicle.

NIRMAL K. GUPTA

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[4] Unpublished correspondence between the Collector of Dacca and Nawab Nassarat Jung.

NEPAL'S RELATIONS WITH THE OUTER WORLD

III.

As a place where Buddhism flourished in the past and where Buddhist relics are still found, Nepal furnishes an important connecting link. But at present only a corrupt form of Buddhism exists in the country. The priests are not learned, nor are they strict in their observance of the scriptural laws. The old traditions have disappeared. Learning and scholarship are in decay. But Smith goes too far in asserting that a corrupt form of Buddhism existing in Nepal is slowly decaying and yielding to the constant pressure of Brahminical Hinduism, the religion of the government. (Oxford History of India, p. 176.) This does not seem to be a correct view of the situation. Buddhism is dying of natural causes. There is no pressure of the state religion. Still on account of the existence of several ancient shrines Nepal is holy to Buddhists. Swayambhunath and Bodhnath which are very sacred spots to Buddhists are the tombs respectively of the Sikhi and the Kasyapa Buddhas. By tradition they are under the charge of the Dalai Lama of Tibet. The Nagarjun (Nagar-yon) hill is famous for a cave where Nagarjuna, a great Bodhisatta used to meditate. There is a 'chorten' (small stupa) on the top of this hill where pilgrims gather once every year. Muktinath is sacred to both Buddhists and Hindus. It is mentioned in Tibetan literature as "Chumik Gyatsan," meaning hundred fountains. Speaking about Buddhism in Nepal it is interesting to note that in the 8th century there seemed to have been a relationship between distant Orissa and Nepal. The king of Orissa Subhakaradeva who reigned towards the end of the 8th century presented to the Emperor of China his own copy of "Gandavyuha" in 795 A.D. This is an exposition of the Mahayanist theology and a Sanskrit-Buddhist work preserved in Nepal and not yet published. It is only a fragment, forming part of a vast collection named "Avatamsaka" which is preserved in entirety in Chinese and Tibetan versions. The hero of the work Sudhana is a favourite disciple of Manjushri and under his orders made a tour of India seeking lessons. (Lévi, *Journal Asiatique,* 1923, Tr. by P. C. Bagchi in "*Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India,*" pp. 65, 69-70.) This text which the king of Orissa presented to the Chinese emperor might have been compiled by Buddhist scholars in Nepal and a copy sent to Subhakaradeva.

A short note on Nepalese art and architecture in its relation to that of other countries would not be out of place in a study of Nepal's relations with the outer world.[1] We are not sure of the time when Nepal evolved a style of architecture of her own. The earliest Buddhist remains of architecture were derived from Indian tradition. The Patan stupas and the original stupa at Sanchi are not far different. The rest are mostly in the *terais* which are practically Indian soil. Both Swayambhunath and Bodhnath were constructed on Tibetan models. One of the main characteristics of both Chinese and Nepalese architecture is the 'pagoda' style. But the Nepalese specimens belong to a period earlier than the Chinese examples. This type of architecture is mentioned in a Chinese travel-book which was written during the 8th and 10th century A.D. and was probably based on the records left by Wang Hiuen-tse. It is not at all unlikely that from time to time Nepalese artists visited China. Prof. Lévi notes the presence of a Nepalese artist named Arniko at Kublai Khan's court. (*Le Nepal,* Vol. III, p. 186.) Nepalese artists used to decorate Chinese and Tibetan banners. The influence of Nepalese architecture is discovered by specialists in the eleventh century work of the great Ananda monastery at Pagan and also in Assam and Burma. In the famous cathedral of Lhasa built by King Gambo for keeping the images brought by his

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[1] Perceval Landon in his "Nepal" has made a study of Nepalese art and architecture and the present author is indebted to Landon for useful information on the subject.

Chinese and Nepalese wives some of the arrangements are similar to those of the Patan stupas. M. Benoit, a French writer on Oriental architecture has been led to think that Nepal influenced Burma, China and possibly even India. It may be even that Chinese architecture was imported from India through Nepal. It is a curious fact that the "storeyed" type[2] has ceased to exist in the mother-country. Just as a rising wave soon recedes from the spot of its origin and gradually makes the opposite banks feel its force, the Indian type disappearing in the land of its birth migrated to China by way of Nepal. It took about six hundred years in Greece for the alphabetic numerals to be universally accepted. It does not necessarily mean that no system prevailed during that period. There must have been some method of indicating the numerals. In the same way it can be argued that the mere fact that we do not find any remains of the 'storeyed' type of architecture at present in India, is not a sufficient ground to substantiate the view that such architectural designs never existed in India. Moreover climatic conditions in India did not permit for long the erection of wooden houses with several storeys which could stand the rigours of a tropical climate and eventually houses began to be built with stone or brick. The pagoda style of Burma may be a Chinese edition of the original Indian style.

In its later architecture Nepal was influenced by the Indian style. This will be evident from the style of the Radha Krishna temple at Patan and the three Shiva temples near Tripureswar, a suburb of Katmandu, on the Bagmati river. In the portrait of Prithwi Narayan in the old royal palace of Katmandu traces of Indo-Persian influence are found though the work itself was done by a Nepalese artist. The religious painting of Nepal is closely modelled upon or rather allied to the Tibetan school of painting but the work is not so fine. There is a permanent colony of Nepalese bronze and copper craftsmen in Lhasa and much of the best work in Tibet is done by them. About the art of Nepal, Vincent Smith says; "The plastic art of both Tibet and Nepal is Indian in origin and essentially one. According to Taranath the style of ancient Nepalese art was based on that of the 'Eastern Painters in Bengal' who may be assigned to the eighth century......Indian civilization having reached the valley of Nepal many centuries before it penetrated the plateau of Tibet, the presumption is that the almost complete identity of style in the two countries must be the result of Tibetan copying of the Nepalese models." (*A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 198.)

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[2] About this type of architecture, Prof. G. Tucci of the University of Rome in course of a talk with the author at Katmandu suggested that this style is nothing but an elaboration of the 'stupa' style. Sirdar Hari Gopal Banerjee, M.A., who has lived in Nepal for 30 years and made a close study of Nepalese antiquities is of opinion that this type was accepted by the Nepalese architects as more suitable for rainwater falling below from the inclined edges of the roofs. The temple style was merely an elaboration of the ordinary dwelling-house type. Moreover it was found more convenient to build with wood, mud and light bricks for standing the rigours of the hill-climate.

In the Tibetan temples there are many images showing male and females in sexual postures. These owe their origin to the older sect of Tibetan Buddhists whose faith became mixed up with Tantraism from Nepal. In the Tibetan monasteries many Tantric texts are still preserved in the original and there are also extant many Tibetan translations of these works. The propounders of this mixed cult gave a sensual interpretation to their religious tenets and hence originated such images which would certainly shock the moral susceptibilities of modern lookers-on. Atisha, however, explained these images in a quite different way. The same kind of images are found in many Nepalese temples, often carved on wood as decorations of the temple premises. (*Cf.* the Chowbahar temple about four miles from Katmandu.) The idea seems to be according to the Nepalese belief that such figures are the means of making the buildings immune from lightning shocks. Similar decorations but in painting are found in temples in Orissa. The suspicion therefore is natural that this type of art must have originated from some common source and then travelled to different places.

Moreover sex was not banned in the Hindu Shastras and learned treatises were written on the subject. So these erotic symbols had a religious background and in Tibet and Nepal are the outcome of a common belief.

It is interesting to note here the opinion of the Curator of the Arts Section of the Lahore Museum that there is a very close relation of Basholi, Nepalese and Tibetan schools of art in their peculiar colour scheme. (S. N. Gupta, *Making of the Moghul School of Painting*). He also thinks that some of the paintings from Basholi represent different Tantric manifestations of the goddess Durga and the colour scheme of these paintings resembles to a certain extent the colouring of the Nepalese paintings. (*Note on Six Paintings from Basholi, Catalogue of Paintings in the Lahore Museum*, compiled by S. N. Gupta.) Another student of Indian art, however, thinks that the oldest and peculiar type of Pahari art is of Basholi origin and therefore there is no ground to support Mr. S. N. Gupta's view that it has an affinity with Nepalese or Tibetan art. (Ajit Ghose, *Basholi School of Rajput Painting.*) Dr. Ananda Coomarswamy's opinion about Basholi paintings is that they represent Pahari art and the continuation of some older tradition. (*Catalogue of Rajput Paintings in the Boston Museum.*) This older tradition may be Nepalese art as at one time there was a close connection between Nepal and Kashmir and the Punjab (specially Kangra side) when the Tantric cult was at its highest and it was not at all improbable for Nepalese and Rajput artists in the Punjab to follow the same traditions in religious painting. In that case Mr. Ghose's summary dismissal of Mr. S. N. Gupta's theory cannot be upheld and indeed people in Nepal who have made some study of Nepalese art are inclined to behieve that it had some sort of relationship with the art of neighbouring states.

Thus culturally, ethnologically, politically Nepal had a regular intercourse with regions far and near and her important geographical position gave a tremendous possibility to symbolize in herself the characteristic traits in the civilization and culture of the Aryan and the Mongol. But she remains more Aryan than Mongolian and has much in common with her southern neighbours. Along with other countries where Indian civilization and Indian culture was carried and existed in a flourishing state for centuries, Nepal formed a part of Greater India and remains now the only independent Hindu kingdom.

(*Concluded.*)

JAYANTAKUMAR DAS GUPTA

THE TURTLE

I looked into his eyes
And guessed at the heart that kept him alive ;
I looked at his mouth and his lips,
The kindness that lurked in the curves ;
I looked at his whole round body,
And wondered of what use he was in the world.
Of what use is the Turtle?

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

BRADLEY FROM THE STANDPOINT OF ŚAṀKARA-VEDĀNTA.[1]

Bradley may be taken to be the most influential representative of the idealistic movement which began in England in the nineteenth century and which proceeded in the reverse direction to the ' insular ' philosophy. The distinguishing characteristic of the 'insular' philosophy had hitherto been its empiricism. Along with this characteristic the English Philosophy had certain characteristic deficiencies which became the more glaring the more it entered into reciprocal relation with other lines of thought. Among these is the mechanical atomistic notion, which passed over from natural to mental science, and induced it to regard psychical life as the product of independent psychical elements. Bradley was the most influential, if not the only, opponent of this notion.

Bradley's first published work was his *Ethical Studies* which appeared in 1876. It was in this book that he attacked the atomism of English psychology. In his opposition we find a remarkable similarity with Śaṁkara's opposition to the atomism of the Vijñānavādins. The arguments of both are also almost the same. In opposition to the atomism of English psychology the English philosopher maintains that consciousness cannot be described as a mere collection of elements, for it would be impossible to understand how such a collection could become aware of itself,—and *Vijñāna,* urges the Indian Philosopher against the Bauddhas, cannot be consciousness or the self, for this *Vijñāna* cannot be aware of itself, for in order to be known, it must be known by something else—**विज्ञानस्य स्वरूपव्यतिरिक्तग्राह्यत्वात्.**

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[1] Read before the History of Philosophy Section of the Indian Philosophical Congress held at Lahore, December, 1929.

The most remarkable of Bradley's works, however, is his *Appearance and Reality.* It is impossible to convey in a summary a clear idea of its teaching. The main discussions concern themselves with the nature of 'Reality' and of 'Appearance' as is sufficiently indicated by the title of the book. His arguments in the book as to the nature of Reality may be summed up in the following words: "Ultimate Reality is such that it does not contradict itself." We find this characterisation of Reality in certain philosophers belonging to the Śaṁkara Vedānta School, if not in Saṁkara himself. Dharmarājādvaríndra's definition of **प्रमात्वम्** as **अबाधितार्थविषयज्ञानत्वम्** may be taken as an instance thereof; and it appears by implication, from Rāmānuja's criticism of Śaṁkara's view of Reality that Śaṁkara himself held this view of Reality: **सत् परमार्थम् अनुवर्त्तमानत्वात् रज्जुसर्पादौ रज्ज्वादिवत्। घटादयोऽपरमार्था व्यावर्त्तमानत्वात् रज्ज्वाद्यधिष्ठान सर्पादिवदिति**, etc., quoted, by Rāmānuja, are supposed to be Śaṁkara's arguments.

Again, by way of giving a concrete determination of Reality, Bradley calls it Experience. By 'Experience' in this context Bradley did not mean 'consciousness,' if the term 'consciousness' be taken to signify 'awareness' of an object, on the part of an individual subject. Consciousness in this sense is 'thought' which implies a severance of the subject and object and always points to something more inclusive than itself in which the distinction of subject and object would be transcended. Rather, he urged, is 'experience' to be identified with 'sentience,' and sentience while including, after a certain stage of development has been reached, thought or consciousness, includes also much besides. 'Experience' in Bradley's sense of the term, is more akin to 'feeling' than to 'thought' inasmuch as in feeling also there is no such severance of subject and object as in thought. Here, in Bradley's characterisation of Reality as 'sentient experience' as distinguished from 'consciousness' in the sense of awareness on the part of an individual subject, we find a strong point of resemblance with

Śaṁkara's characterisation of Reality as '*Chaitanya,*' *i.e.,* an all-pervasive universal Intelligence. Of course in default of a better term we cannot but translate Śaṁkara's 'Chaitanya' as 'consciousness' or 'self-consciousness' but in its inner significance it is as comprehensive as Bradley's 'sentience.' Consciousness in Śaṁkara, does not mean awareness on the part of an individual subject but an impersonal universal consciousness which comprehends everything.

Bradley's characterisation of appearances is sometimes positive but sometimes it tends to become comparatively negative. The comparatively positive arguments are somewhat like the following. Although appearances are not real in the form in which they now appear to us, still they are not altogether false and illusory. If they are 'appearances' still they are not *mere* 'appearances' but appearances of Reality—finite forms under which Reality is partly revealed. If they themselves *are* not Reality still they are *indications* of Reality. They are called 'appearances' because Reality appears in them.

This characterisation of appearance as a mixture of reality and unreality, reminds one of Śaṁkara's famous statement in the introduction to his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*: **सत्यानृते मिथुनीकृत्य नैसर्गिकोऽयं लोकव्यवहारः ।** Reality is, according to Bradley, the ideality of the finite, or to use a Hegelian phrase, Reality is the '*truth*' of the appearance—appearances are Reality in the making, *i.e.*, the stages through which Reality is gradually manifesting itself. Statements similar to this are not altogether absent in Śaṁkara,—**ज्ञानैश्वर्याद्यभिव्यक्तिः उत्तरोत्तरेण भूयसी भवति,**—this seems to be an exact parallel of the corresponding statement in Bradley. According to some Vedāntists,—the idea embodied in this is *the* true interpretation of Śaṁkara's philosophy.

But as in the case of the Indian philosopher, so in the case of Bradley, we cannot unhesitatingly conclude that this positive view-point is the last word of either system. There are lines in the arguments of both which go directly against the above statements, and seem to explain away the world as altogether illusory and false. There are passages where Bradley argues that 'appearances' *are*,—more strictly speaking—seem to be, only owing to the impotence of our finite point of view, but they are quite unreal from the side of the Absolute. Śaṁkara also argues in a similar strain that Brahman alone is the true Reality,—and the world of appearance is only a Māyā and due to our ignorance (अविद्या). अविद्याकल्पित (or 'fancied by ignorance'), अविद्याप्रत्युपस्थापित ('brought about by or due to ignorance'), अविद्यात्मक ('consisting of avidyā') are the usual epithets most commonly used by Śaṁkara with reference to the world of names and forms (नामरूपे) that constitute the realm of our experience, and it is curious to observe that the same objections have been urged against both. Rāmānuja, for example, criticises Śaṁkara's conception of the world as the product of ignorance on the ground that this ignorance has no substratum in which to reside (this objection, by the way, is technically known as आश्रयानुपपत्तिः), for the finite self being itself a product of ignorance cannot be the seat of the ignorance. Similarly Western critics have urged against Bradley the objection that there cannot be illusion which is to explain the finite world unless it be proved first of all that finite selves really exist as such, in order to be the seats or victims of this illusion.

Not only in this conception of the relation of Reality to appearance in general, but also in that of the more particular relation of Reality to the finite self (which is one of the appearances), a similarity may be traced between the two philosophers. The finite selves exist, according to both, only in appearance. From the side of the absolute they are non-entities. "The plurality of souls in the absolute," says Bradley, "is appearance, and their existence is not genuine. To gain consistency and truth they must be merged, and recomposed in a result in which their speciality must vanish." Not that the finite selves are annihilated altogether but they cease to exist as separate individuals. The materials of which the individuals are constituted are taken up and re-arranged and blended together in the absolute. ‘Merged,’ ‘blended.’ ‘fused’ ‘absorbed’ ‘run together,’ ‘transformed,’ ‘dissolved in a higher unity,’ are the synonyms plentifully used by Bradley in this connection. Sometimes he goes to the extent of using even the more sinister terms, ‘suppressed,’ ‘destroyed’ and ‘lost.’ In a similar strain Śaṁkara also argues that the individuality of finite selves is only apparent and is due to *upādhis* which are the products of illusion. From the standpoint of Brahman there is no individual self as such—there is no distinction of one self from another. All are blended together in one complete homogeneous identity.—यत्तु सर्व्वमात्मैनाभूत् तत् केन कं पश्येत् केन कं विजानीयात् ?

But in spite of these similarities there is an important point of difference between these two philosophers. The ‘self’ with Bradley seems to be only an appearance among other appearances, and is in no way superior to other appearances. But with Śaṁkara the case is different. Though according to him also the ‘self’ is an appearance only and from the standpoint of Brahman has no separate existence still it is superior to the other appearances in this that as an appearance also it reflects the nature of Brahman. The same self-consciousness which is as it were, the stuff of Brahman, appears as an individual self when modalised. The difference between the two thinkers on this point is also obvious from the way in which each characterises the Absolute. With Bradley, the Absolute is simply a ‘sentient experience’—an inclusive experience; whereas with Śaṁkara it is not only an all-pervasive *chaitanya,* but also the ‘self.’ The use of the same term ‘self’ for both the Absolute and the finite human being, shows that for Śaṁkara the relation between the finite self and Brahman is much more intimate than it is for Bradley. ‘तत्त्वमसि’ sums up the whole philosophy of Śaṁkara in a nutshell. The self is an appearance but still it is not a mere appearance,—in its innermost nature it is identical with Brahman—it *is* Brahman. Of course, in justice to Bradley, it must be admitted that though he has never identified his absolute in so many words with the finite self, the implication of some of his utterances amounts to it. To know the Absolute one has to *be* the Absolute. These are Bradley's own words. If the human self can *be* the absolute,—if it has in it the *possibility* of being the absolute, that means that it *is* in actuality, the Absolute; for, if the two were not essentially identical the one could never become the other,—and the exhortation to achieve the identity would also have no meaning.

Similar objections, again, have been urged against those arguments of both Śaṁkara and Bradley by which they have sought to establish the position that the finite selves have to lose their separate individualities in the Absolute. With an audacious irony Bradley speaks of the perfection which is to be striven after by the individual as "the complete gift and dissipation of his personality in which *he* as such, must vanish!" But if the person as such has to vanish who will be there to enjoy the perfection? Rāmānuja and others also urge the same objection against Śaṁkara's arguments for release. One attains release, so argues Śaṁkara, when one loses his individuality in Brahman,—when the 'I' ceases to exist. But if the 'I' ceases to exist who will enjoy the release, who will say 'I am released?'

As to the knowability of the Absolute the arguments of both Śaṁkara and Bradley are sceptical, so far at least as *thought* is concerned. The Absolute is a self-consistent and harmonious totality and therefore beyond all relations because relations involve contradiction. But 'thought' works by way of relations—it always involves a separation of the 'that' and the 'what.' Hence thought can never grasp the totality of Reality. Śaṁkara also argues in the same strain "नैषा तर्केण मतिरापनेया" or "अचिन्त्याः. खलु ये भावा न तांस्तर्केण योजयेत्" "लिङ्गाद्यभावाच्च नानुमानादीनाम्." But then, what is the conclusion? Do these philosophers conclude that Reality is not knowable at all, in any sense of the term 'knowing.' No. The scepticism of both culminates in mysticism. Reality is not *graspable* by discursive thinking, but it is graspable by a higher form of knowledge,—*intuition*. We cannot know the Absolute by *thinking* but we can grasp it by *identifying* ourselves with it. To know the Absolute we must *be* the Absolute—must lose ourselves in ecstatic intuition in it. (Of course, the terms, ecstasy and intuition are not to be found in Bradley.) Śaṁkara's arguments on this point agree, word for word, with Bradley's. Śaṁkara also identifies ब्रह्मविद् with ब्रह्मभू; to know Brahman is to *be* Brahman. There is no other way of knowing Brahman.

If we have to know Brahman we must leave our empirical lives behind us, and identify ourselves with the Real. The knowledge of Brahman is termed by Saṁkara अनुभूति : by which he means ecstatic intuition; for Bradley, the term is 'Feeling.' This feeling is something quite different from what we mean by 'feeling' in psychology. It seems to approach Śaṁkara's conception of अनुभूति though it has not for him the further sense of ecstasy.

Nevertheless, though thought by itself cannot get hold of Reality, both Śaṁkara and Bradley recognise the importance of thinking as a preliminary step. The feeling which is identical with absolute Experience can come only at the end of a long process of thinking,—only when thought has done all that it could have done. So also with Saṁkara,—अनुभवावसानत्वात् ब्रह्मविज्ञानस्य—the *anubhûti* being only the culmination of the labour of thought in knowing Brahman. The feeling which comes before thought is too poor and unstable to be a fit instrument for the knowledge of Reality. It can become fit for this high vocation only when it has gone out of itself into the region of thought, and when after the whole travail of thought, has returned upon itself, enriched and purified.

However, according to both, we can know Reality only as we leave our empirical lives behind. But, is there no aperture through which we can catch even a glimpse of this Reality, even while this empirical life endures? Bradley answers the question in the affirmative. For though he begins with the disheartening lines—" Fully to realise the existence of the absolute is for finite beings impossible. In order thus to know we should have *to be* and then *we* should not exist,"—he adds a few lines below : " What is impossible is to construct absolute life in its detail, to have the specific experience in which it consists. But to gain an idea of its main features—an idea true so far as it goes though abstract and incomplete—is a different endeavour." And this general idea, he thinks, can be got through the analysis of feeling. The reasons for this supposition have already been given. And if it is through psychological analysis that Reality can be approached according to Bradley, the same is true of Śaṁkara as well. But, according to the latter, it is no longer the psychological analysis of *feeling*, but that of *dream* and *dreamless sleep* that is supposed to give us a general idea of Reality.

Reviewing the systems of Bradley and Śaṁkara as a whole, we are now in a position to wind up our comparative survey with a concluding reflection on their respective philosophical *methods* and *conclusions*. The method common to both may, in the absence of a better term, be styled the Dialectical. Both start from an epistemological analysis of the primitive psychological datum expressed in the form of judgment. Accordingly, for both the approach to metaphysics is not so much through Psychology as it is through Epistemology. According to Śaṁkara, all appearance, from the epistemological point of view, is a case of *adhyāsa*, proceeding on the conjunction of truth and error (**सत्यानृते मिथुनीकृत्य**). Seized on its positive and metaphysical side Śaṁkara's Māyā answers exactly to the Bradleyan construction of 'appearance.' Śaṁkara's Māyā imports exactly what Bradley seeks to convey by his phrase, so happily worded, "the ideality of the finite." This dynamic nature of appearance has its counterpart in the truly philosophic construction of the term "Saṁsāraḥ (**संसारः**) so often emphasised by Śaṁkara. By following up this common approach to the metaphysics of both, we arrive at the same metaphysical *conclusions* with regard to their characterisation of Reality. The identity-in-difference which underlies every judgment falls far short of the Real which characterised by inner coherence or comprehensiveness is truly represented as an undifferenced identity. Discursive or relational thinking which proceeds by way of judgment, and seeks a completion beyond the sundering of the 'that' and 'what' fails to attain this identity. Thought has ultimately to give way to a higher intuition, which alone can grasp the Real. Intuition or *anubhūti* is the *terminus ad quem*, the last word of philosophy for both, in as much as it alone can grasp the nature of absolute Reality as a felt whole, as the goal of all aspirations, intellectual or emotional.

TATINI DAS

TRAMPING THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Tramping along on the Great North Road
With a heart that is free from care,
With light shod feet that spurn the stones
And take from the road a dare
That it shall lead to the highest dreams
With never a heavier load,
Than one carries along on a summer day,
Tramping the Great North Road!

Marching along on the Great North Road
Swinging a heavier kit.
A gun and a haver-sack, extra boots...
May be longing to rest a bit—
On a road that leads to a boat, a quay,
And a dark and silent ride ;
Longing to tramp for a little while yet
On a road that is broad and wide.

Trudging along on the Great North Road
Back, in a land of "peace,"
But the road seems rough and the summer days
Have seemed to forever cease.
There is the gate one leaned upon—
Now eyes are wistful to see,
If the sky and the trees and even the stones
Are just as they used to be!

Dreams of comrades who marched away—
And, back in the days gone by,
A happy boy in his oldest boots..
Tramping with heart so high.
Listen, they gave him a cheery hail!
And his heart has lost its load,
As he swings again down the highway of life
To tramp the Great North Road.

MOLLIE THACKERAY WALLER

SLAVERY IN ANCIENT INDIA

Slavery in the Ancient World.—Slavery was almost universal in primitive times and existed in every ancient society: Egyptian, Babylonian, Roman, Greek or Teuton. Among these nations, conquered people were generally turned into slaves. But, in addition to these, among the Teutons as well as Greeks, slaves were recruited from men of the same race, and men convicted of serious crimes were deprived of their liberty and made to serve as slaves. Again, owing to poverty, many people sold their own liberty and accepted slavery. In Carthaginian and Phoenician society as well as in certain other communities, everything that called for rigorous physical labour was left to the slaves. They were worked like beasts and were compelled to do all the work requiring hazard or toil. In republican Rome, the education of children, or the treatment of the sick was also in the hands of Greek slaves. Men like Ennius or Polybius were slaves. For these reasons, they stood in great need of slaves. Phoenician and Carthiginian pirates plundered many places of the Mediterranean coast and did not feel the least hesitation in binding the inhabitants with fetters of slavery, in order to augment the number of slaves. Among the Greeks, conquered people were made slaves and they converted them into beasts of burden instead of slaughtering them. Among the ancient Romans, the system of keeping a large number of slaves came into existence when luxury and idleness increased with new conquests. Most of these slaves were brought from western Asia, northern Africa and eastern Europe, not to mention Greece, Sardinia, and Iberia. Slaves of various nations like the Teutons, Goths, Syrians, Dacians, Lybians, Slavs and even Negroes from Africa spread throughout the length and breadth of the Roman Empire. The greater part of the agricultural land was managed by slaves. Likewise slaves were necessary for weaving and other crafts. Their number increased with fearful rapidity and occasionally the Romans had to undertake armed expeditions to put down rebellious slaves. They could be reduced only with much difficulty and bloodshed.

Slaves were not considered human beings by the Greeks and the Romans till a late period of the Imperial age. They were looked upon simply as human beasts of intelligence. The master could beat, punish, mutilate and even put to death a slave of his own. In the hey-day of Rome, slaves were compelled to fight with wild animals or to kill each other for the pleasure of the Roman public, and thus arose the celebrated gladiatorial contests in which more than ten thousand foreign slaves were made to lose their lives for the amusement of the Romans. Slaves had no rights and could not own any property. Their children belonged to the master and anything earned by them was considered to be their master's property. Attempts were made later on to remedy these evils and the sympathy of some of the generous Roman emperors tended to improve their condition.

Slavery in the Vedic Period.—Slavery existed in India from remote antiquity. Besides the three higher castes and the Śūdras, there existed a class of men, who owing to legal disabilities suffered loss of status in society. The slave had neither personal liberty, nor was he included within any particular Jāti or Varṇa. Slaves or *Dāsas* formed a distinct social group. In very remote antiquity, that is, in the early Vedic age, slaves are found to have been existing in Aryan society. We have not only innumerable references to slaves and slave-girls but stories of gifts of slaves and slave-girls occur in many pages of the Saṁhitas especially in the Dāna-stutis. European scholars hold that it was the conquered Non-Aryans that were taken into the Hindu society as slaves. How far this assertion should be regarded as absolute truth cannot be determined from the available evidences but we have reasons for holding that in addition to capture in war various other causes of slavery existed.

Slavery in the VIth Century B.C.—From the information we get from Pali books composed at the time of the rise of Buddhism, as well as other works it seems that even members of the higher castes were converted into slaves, besides Non-Aryans and conquered people.[1] The reasons that led to slavery, besides capture in war were many, *e.g.*, (1) voluntary enslavement or sale of children, (2) slavery for debt, (3) slavery as judicial punishment for heinous crimes.

Slavery for debt.—Many were constrained to sell their wives and children or to accept slavery for debts. Instances of these are found in our ancient literature. The story in the Mahābhārata that Hariśchandra sold his wife and children is well-known. From the latter part of the biography of the Theri named Isidāsi, composed towards the closing days of the Maurya period and included in the Pali work named Theri-gāthā (that part in which her former life has been described), we learn that Isidāsi, one of the Theris in her former birth, was the daughter of a poor cart-driver. Failing to repay with interest the debt which the cart-driver had incurred from a merchant, the latter took his daughter away by force and probably engaged her as a female slave. As time went on, the son of the merchant fell in love with that girl.

Voluntary Sale.—(II) Instances of selling oneself of one's own accord occur in two places of the oldest Buddhist work Vinaya-piṭaka.

Judicial Degradation.—(III) In cases of revolting crimes and other serious offences, the penalty was often loss of liberty. In the IVth century B.C., the Arthaśāstra also lays down this rule. Adulterous women of higher castes were deprived of their liberty and made to serve in the king's harem. Another such instance is met with in the Kulāvaka Jātaka where the king enslaves a tyrannical village headman. These reasons led to the continuance of slavery even in later times.

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[1] According to the Assalāyana Sutta, there were only two classes of men in the land of the Yona-Kambojas, *i.e.*, freemen and slaves and no other castes.

In the Buddhistic age, the children of slaves were also reckoned as slaves. The Vidhura-Paṇḍita Jātaka mentions four classes of house-hold slaves, *e.g.*, (*a*) children of slaves, (*b*) those who sell themselves for food or protection, (*c*) those recognizing others as their masters, and (*d*) those sold for money.

The founders of Jainism and Buddhism did much to propagate the doctrine of *ahiṁsā* and to improve the social weal, but so deep-rooted was the institution of slavery that hardly any attempt was made in the Buddhist period to better their condition. The Buddhists, according to the practice of the age, did not consider them as human beings and slaves were debarred from entering the Buddhist Saṅgha. Other religious reformers were silent on this point. Probably, they were favourably inclined towards slaves since they seem to have conceded to them the right of entering the Saṅgha. According to the practice of that age, those who could enter into a religious Saṅgha, were freed from the bonds of slavery.

The earliest attempt to discourage slavery or to prohibit slave-trade, is to be found in the directions laid down by some of the Brahmin lawgivers. In the Dharmaśūtras of Gautama and Āpastamba, we find the rule that a Brahmin was never to sell or purchase a slave. Even if he happened to have a slave, he could exchange him, but under no circumstance was he to sell him. Practically the same rule occurs in Buddhist literature. (Aṅguttara Nikāya.)

Slavery in the Jātakas.

Inspite of this, slavery as an institution maintained itself and the number of slaves was fairly large. From the realistic accounts of the Jātakas, we know that most of the slaves were domestic servants, who resided in the family of the master and performed all sorts of household duties. Violence to them was not illegal, but the majority of them seem to have been well-treated. Some Jātakas bear testimony to their kind treatment. Thus, in the Sirikālakaṇṇi (382), Gaṅgamāla (421) and the Uraga (354) Jātakas we find slaves and slave-girls treated as members of the family. The slaves of the Saṅkha-setthī in Asampadāna Jātaka (131), bear testimony to their kind treatment, and their loyalty to their ex-master. In the Nanda Jātaka (39), the master shows his confidence in his slave and informs him the whereabouts of his treasure. Again, in another Jātaka, the Nānāchanda (289), the Brahmin consults his slave-girl Punnā as to the nature of the boon he would ask of the king.

This was perhaps the better side of the picture. In the absence of legal protection the treatment of a slave naturally depended on the nature or temperament of the master. In the hands of cruel masters, the lot of the slave was one of terrible misery, and there was probably nothing to prevent such a treatment, as the slave had no status in the eye of law. We have ample evidence of this in the Jātakas. Thus, in the Nāmasiddhika Jātaka we find the master and mistress of the slave-girl Dhanapāli beating her and putting her on hire to work for others. Probably, it lay in the power of the master not only to beat a slave, but also to imprison him, to apply severe corrections to mend his ways, or even to brand or maim him. This is amply proved by the Kaṭāhaka Jātaka (125). There we find Kaṭāhaka, the hero, as a son of the Seṭṭhī by a slave-girl and being the son of a slave-girl, he was compelled to act as a page to his foster-brother. We find him always afraid lest on the slightest offence "the master would beat him, imprison him or brand him." His fears goaded him to an attempt at escape and he took the earliest opportunity of doing it. Free from the clutches of his master, he retired to the frontier and cleverly impersonating as the real son of the Seṭṭhī, he succeeded in marrying the daughter of a frontier Seṭṭhī.

The early Buddhist books do not give us clear information as to whether a master could take his slave's life with impunity. But, from the Jātakas, we have reason for believing that under exceptional circumstances, that right, too, resided in the master. We may infer it also from the evidence of the Culla-seṭṭhī Jātaka. There the daughter of a Seṭṭhī falls in love with a slave, but she was constantly in dread lest her father knowing her *mésalliance*, would have her and her slave-lover cut to pieces.

The chief difficulty with the slave was his loss of *persona*. In the eyes of men of that age the slave was rather a *res* completely at the mercy of his master. Nothing except formal manumission could raise him from the social degradation. The marriage of a slave with a free woman hardly improved his status. Sons of slave-girls by their master were slaves as in the case of Katāhaka. We have other examples of this. Thus the Licchavis never regarded Vāsava-khattiyā a member of the Sākya family, since her mother Nāgmunda was a slave-girl.

But, if socially degraded, the slave was not always an object of hatred. Masters often took slave-girls as concubines. Occasionally the daughters of masters fall in love with slaves. We have at least two such instances in the Jātakas.

Slavery was not restricted to any particular class of people, nor were slaves recruited from the lower castes. We have evidence showing that Brahmins, Kṣattriyas or men of high birth often became slaves. The traditional Buddhist accounts point to Puraṇa Kassapa and Ajita Keśakambali as having been slaves in their early life. The Jain tradition about Gosāla the founder of the Ājīvikas brands him as the son of a run-away slave. Furthermore, if we have the story of the enslavement of Hariśchandra and his family in Epic literature, we have in the Jātakas, the account of the enslavement of a high-born prince Vessantara and a princess and this does not shock the social ideas of the day.

Slaves regained freedom, either through voluntary manumission on the part of the master or through other means.[1] Many ran away from their masters, crossed the frontier of the original domicile and thereby became free. In the Jātakas, we have at least two instances of slaves gaining freedom by flight and improving their position by marrying the daughters of respectable people. (Kaṭāhaka Jāt. No. 125, and Kalandaka Jāt. No. 127). There is also reason for believing that the entrance into any religious order by the slave freed him. The Buddhists however did not admit slaves into their order in as much as that was regarded as an act of iniquity.

The Jātakas tell us something about the price of slaves. From some Jātakas, (*e.g.*, Sattu bhatthā 402) we know that one hundred kahāpaṇas were enough for an ordinary slave. In the Durājāna Jātaka, a man speaks of his wife as being "meek as a slave-girl bought for 100 paṇas one day and a terrible termagant the next day." In the Nanda Jātaka we find the price of a slave as 700 paṇas, while in Vessantara Jātaka the high-born prince was sold for 1,000 paṇas only. Probably, the price varied with the accomplishment of slaves. In the case of a female, her beauty was taken into consideration by the master who claimed the right of enjoying her. This would appear from the Vessantara Jātaka, where the princess is offered for sale to any princely purchaser paying 100 nikkhas, while her brother is offered for 1,000 paṇas only.

Slavery in the Arthaśāstra.—The condition of slaves was much improved in the time of the Arthaśāstra. Kauṭilya, following the maxims of earlier law-givers laid down the rule that any one selling a man other than his own self will be liable to severe punishment. Even a man could not sell his own son. Kauṭilya says :

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[1] In Pāli-literature, we have the word *Bhujissa*, a freed slave; a freeman; a servant as distinguished from a slave (see also Vin. I. 93; J. II. 313).

Thus—*Bhujissam karoti*—to grant freedom to a slave (I. V. 313, VI. 389, 546; also see Digha., II. 80, III. 245, Saṁyutta II. 70, IV. 272; Ang. III. 36, 132, 213.)

उदरदासवर्जमार्यप्राणमप्राप्तव्यवहारं शूद्रं विक्रयाधानं नयतः स्वजनस्य द्वादशपणो दण्डः। वैश्यं द्विगुणः। क्षत्रियं त्रिगुणः। ब्राह्मणं चतुर्गुणः। परजनस्य पूर्वमध्यमोत्तमवधा दण्डाः। क्रेतृश्रोतॄणां च।

Slavery was so much looked down upon by the politicians and religious reformers of the time of the Arthaśāstra, that it was considered as most heinous for an Ārya to sell his children and that custom was one becoming only the much-hated Mlecchas. Kauṭilya says, "*Mlecchānāmadoṣaḥ prajāṁ vikretumādhātuṁ vā, Na tvevāryasya dāsabhāvaḥ*, *i.e.*, " Mlecchas sell or pawn their children. Among Āryas no freeman should be a slave." Severe punishment was also prescribed for the slave-trader, in order to eradicate slavery. Not to speak of the seller of children, the purchaser and even the witness of such transaction was punished. As a result, slave-trade was abolished and in consequence of such a severe legislation, the number of slaves was limited only to those already existing. Next, through legislation the lot of the existing slave was improved and the Indian slave got the following rights.

(I) The slave was given the right to earn money without detriment to his master and the state recognised his right to the property, he acquired by right of inheritance. (*Ātmādhigataṁ svāmi-karmāviruddhaṁ labheta pitryaṁ ca dāyaṁ.*)

(II) He could purchase his own liberty if he could earn the price of his ransom. (*Mūlyena cāryatvam gacchet.*) Moreover Kauṭilya lays down the rule that the owner of a slave was bound to liberate the slave if he got his ransom. Otherwise he should be punished.

(III) If engaged in menial work or tortured by the master a slave could take refuge with a king's officer and free himself.

(IV) If maltreated by the master, he could ask the king for redress.

(V) If a female slave was raped, she was freed immediately and if a son was born to her by her master, he became an heir to his property.

(VI) The property of a slave descended to his heirs; in default of heirs, it went to the master.

(VII) The children of a man selling himself remained free.

In consequence of such legislation the condition of the rest of the Indian slaves became so different, that the existence of slavery could not be felt by the Greek travellers. The Greek ambassador Megasthenes says that India's point of superiority lay in the fact that Indians were all free and slavery was unknown to Indian society. The famous historian Arrian has also endorsed and confirmed the same opinion and stated that Indians like the Spartans did not enslave men of their own caste. Their magnanimity lay in the fact that they did not enslave any man by depriving him of his liberty. We can well pride ourselves on such an observation, coming as it does from a foreigner and specially from the civilised and conceited Greek.

Kauṭilya and Aristotle.—The fourth century B.C. produced Aristotle, the ablest European politician and philosopher supporting the system of slavery and propounding the theory that taking the liberty instead of the life of a man was better for the interests of the society. Thus says Aristotle, "Nature would like to distinguish between the bodies of freemen and slaves, making the one strong for servile labour, the other upright, and although useless for such services, useful for political life in the arts both of war and peace. But this does not hold universally: for some slaves have the souls and others have the bodies of freemen. And doubtless if men differed from one another in the mere forms of their bodies as much as the statues of the gods do from men, all would acknowledge that the inferior class would be slaves of the superior. And if there is a difference in the body, how much more in the soul. But the beauty of the body is seen, whereas the beauty of the soul is not seen. It is clear, then, that some men are by nature free, and others slaves, and that for these latter slavery is both expedient and right."

(*Aristotle's Politics, Sec. i.*)

In that age, India produced the generous philosopher Kauṭilya condemning slavery as becoming only the Non-Aryan and preaching the unrestrained freedom of the general Aryan population. From this it can well be understood, how elevated was the model of old Indian society, and how it stood in the estimation of foreigners in consequence of such an ideal of freedom and morality.

The Arthaśāstra also mentions another class of men besides the slaves. They are termed Ahitakas, of whom we know nothing. It is also difficult to ascertain the real condition of the Grāmabhṛtakas besides the Ahitakas. They were reckoned as village servants and village property. Nothing can be known regarding them, except the fact that they were not entirely free. Probably they enjoyed village lands and served the villagers.

The legislators of the Arthaśāstra school doubtless made great efforts to put down slavery. Probably, it was due to this that the condition of slaves was so far ameliorated that the foreign visitors of India formed the opinion that slavery did not exist in India. As such they praised the Indians and expressly declared their superiority even to the Lacedemonians who though they did not keep their own people as slaves, kept slaves of other nations.

Whatever might have been the causes, slavery lingered in India after Candragupta Maurya, and if we accept the ordinary interpretation of the Aśokan edicts, slaves existed in the time of the Great Emperor Aśoka. Whether Aśoka made any efforts for the abolition of slavery is not known, but various circumstances and causes contributed towards the continuation of slavery in Indian society. In the Manusaṁhitā we find curiously enough, not only evidences of the existence of slavery as an institution, but a justification of slavery in words which seem to echo those of Aristotle. The herald of an anti-Buddhistic reaction, the author of the Manusaṁhitā not only justified the practice of keeping slaves, but went so far as to state that all Śūdras were to be regarded as slaves. He mentions seven kinds of slaves and declares them incapable of inheriting or holding property. In short in the eyes of the reactionary legislator, the slave was nothing but a chattel. Probably, the practice of retaining slaves received an impetus from the contact with the Greek or Central Asian invaders. In subsequent literature we have repeated references to various classes of slaves and occasionally to instances of manumission with the concurrence of the master.

Slavery in the Manusaṁhitā—The Manusaṁhita, which represents the high-watermark of a conservative reaction against the liberal tendencies of the preceding age, not only supports slavery but clearly mentions seven classes of slaves. The seven classes[1] of slaves according to the author of the Manusaṁhitā are :—

(*a*) Slaves captured in war or Dhvajāhṛta,
(*b*) ,, for food—Bhakta-dāsa,
(*c*) ,, born in the household—Gṛhaja,
(*d*) ,, Purchased—Krīta,
e) ,, received as gift—Dattṛima
(*f*) ,, inherited from ancestors—Paitṛika
(*g*) Men reduced to slavery for heinous offences—Daṇḍadāsa.

The author of the Manusaṁhitā himself says nothing to condemn slavery. He simply denounces the enslavement of a Brāhmaṇa by a Brāhmaṇa, but with this exception, he commends the practice of slavery and speaks of it with the approbation of the Greek philosopher Aristotle. He even goes farther than this and openly advocates the enslavement of the Śūdra, bought or not, since he was created for slavery and even if manumitted, his natural disqualifications, innate and divinely infused, could not pass away![1] According to Manu, the slave (along with the wife and sons of a man) was incapable of holding property, and whatever accrued to him passed *ipso-facto* to his master.[2]

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[1] ध्वजाहृतो भक्तदासो गृहजः क्रीतदात्त्रिमौ ।
पैत्रिको दण्डदासश्च सप्तैते दासयोनयः ॥

Manu. VIII. 415 .

The counter-reaction thus nullified all the reforming zeal of the Arthaśāstra writer and in course of two centuries, the hard condition of bondage of the slave was revived. The Graeco-Scythian contact probably contributed to this end and the concept of the semi-savage '*patria potestas*' reacted upon the Indian mind to degrade the slave and to extol the arbitrary authority of the father over his wife and son.

Slavery thus received a new lease of life and continued to flourish with full vigour. In the eyes of the later law-givers slavery was a fact and an important social institution which required its regulations. Consequently, we find in all the Smṛti writers of the Commentarial School, as also in the later Nibandha-writers, long chapters devoted to the classification of slaves, immunities of certain castes from slavery and the circumstances of manumission. Nārada mentions fifteen kinds of slaves,[3] *e.g.*,

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[1] शूद्रं तु कारयेद्दास्यं क्रीतमक्रीतमव च ।
दास्यायैवहि सृष्टोऽसौ ब्राह्मणस्य स्वयम्भुवा' ॥
न स्वामिना निसृष्टोऽपि शूद्रो दास्यात् विमुच्यते ।
निसर्गजं हि तत्तस्य कस्तस्मात्तदपोहति ॥
Manu. VIII. 413-13

[2] भार्या पुत्रश्च दासश्च त्रय एवाधनाः स्मृताः ।
यत्ते समधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्य तद्धनम् ॥
VIII. 416.

[3] गृहजातस्तथा क्रीतो लब्धो दायादुपागतः ।
अन्नाकालभृतस्तद्वदाहितः स्वामिना च यः ॥१॥
मोक्षितो महतश्चर्णाद्युद्धे प्राप्तः पणे जितः ।
तवाहमित्युपगतः प्रव्रज्यावसितः कृतः ॥२॥
भक्तदासश्च विज्ञेयस्तथैव वडवाहृतः ।
विक्रेता चात्मनः शास्त्रे दासाः पञ्चदश स्मृताः ॥३॥

(1) those born in the household ; (2) purchased ; (3) received as a gift; (4) received by way of inheritance; (5) obtained by saving life in famines ; (6) mortgaged ; (7) enslaved by paying off the slave's debts; (8) captured in war ; (9) won in dice-play ; (10) those who accept slavery voluntarily or in similar ways ; (11) apostates from mendicancy enslaved ; (12) those who accept slavery for a period of time ; (13) men accepting slavery in lieu of maintenance ; (14) those accepting slavery to win the slave-girl of another ; (15) men who sell themselves outright as slaves.

These fifteen kinds of slaves existed in society, which in course of the pacific teachings of previous ages, looked upon manumission as an act of great religious merit. But with all the sense of sympathy and kindness, absolute abolition of slavery could not be expected and we find a tendency towards the perpetuation of the slavery of some of these unfortunate men. Thus Nārada clearly says that the first four kinds of slaves, *e.g.*, (*a*) children of hereditary slaves, (*b*) those purchased for money, (*c*) those obtained by way of inheritance, (*d*) slaves obtained through the non-payment of money for which they were mortgaged—could not be absolved from slavery merely by royal order or the operation of laws which gave freedom to slaves on certain conditions. In all these four cases, we find the operation of the principle that merely on the ground of humanity men should not be divested of their property. In addition to these four kinds of slaves, those who sold themselves outright, were also doomed to perpetual enslavement, since they were the authors of their own misery.

While these people were doomed to slavery, and could not expect manumission but from the sweet will of their masters, society favoured the manumission of the other varieties of slaves. Thus,[1]

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[1] Yājñavalkya says—II. 186.

बलाद्दासीकृतश्चौरैर्विक्रीतश्चापि मुच्यते ।
स्वामिप्राणप्रदो भक्तस्त्यागान्निष्क्रयादपि ॥

Yājñavalkya clearly lays down that those who are forcibly enslaved or sold, or those who save the lives of their masters or pay ransom are to be freed, while, according to Nārada, it was the duty of the king to free those who had been forcibly captured or sold by others or forcibly enslaved. Again, according to him a slave who saved his master's life was entitled not only to freedom but also to a son's share of the property of his master. Similarly men who were reduced to slavery in lieu of maintenance during famines could claim freedom by paying a pair of kine. A slave mortgaged to another could win freedom by paying the sum with interest. Men enslaved in lieu of debt were to obtain freedom by repaying the debt; men enslaved for a period, on the expiry of that period; while those captured in war, enslaved through wager or through voluntary acceptance of slavery were entitled to liberty by paying ransom or a slave in lieu of their own selves.[1] Those who offered service in lieu of maintenance had their servitude terminated by refusing the further acceptance of food. Similarly, those who had enslaved themselves in order to win the love of another's slave-girl freed themselves by severing connection with that woman.

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[1] चौरापहृतविक्रीता ये च दासीकृता बलात् ।
राज्ञा मोचयितव्यास्ते दासत्वं तेषु नेष्यते ॥
यो वैषां स्वामिनं कश्चिन्मोचयेत् प्राणसंशयात् ।
दासत्वात् स विमुच्येत पुत्रभागं लभेत च ॥
अन्नाकालभृतो दास्यात् मुच्यते गोयुगं ददत् ।

* * * *

ऋणन्तु सोदयं दत्त्वा ऋणी दास्यात् विमुच्यते ।

* * * *

तवाहमित्युपगतो युद्धे प्राप्तः पणे जितः ।
प्रतिशीर्षप्रदानेन मुच्येरंस्तुल्यकर्म्मणा ॥

While this represents the attitude of Nārada, Kātyāyana lays down not only the nature of work to be entrusted to slaves, but tries (*a*) to save higher castes from the evils of slavery or the domination of lower castes, (*b*) to free the Brahmin from slavery, (*c*) to save female slaves from the lust and violence of their masters. Nārada also supports him.

Kātyāyana regards slavery[1] as a "status of subordination like that of a married woman" and assigns to slaves born in the household, the work of cleaning the household (including the removal of nuisances) or personal service to masters and the keeping of cattle. He makes the master entitled to the earnings of the slave.[2] While in these respects he follows other lawgivers, he lays down the following important principles, *e.g.*,

(1) That while men of the three other castes could be enslaved, a Brahmin could not be enslaved.[3]

(2) That a man of a lower caste should not keep a slave of a higher caste. Nārada is also of the same opinion.[4]

(3) That married women of respectable families should not be enslaved. In such a case the man who enslaves her should be punished for *Sāhasa*. The king shall free her.

(4) That anyone enslaving a Brahmin woman should be punished and the king shall restore her to freedom.

(5) That a master had no right to enjoy a slave-girl or to

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[1] स्वतन्त्रस्यात्मनो दानाद्दासत्वं दारवत् भृगुः ।
also दारवत् दासता मता (नारद)

[2] विन्मुत्रोत्सार्जनञ्चैव नग्नत्वपरिमार्जनम् ।
प्रायो दासीसुता कुर्यात्किदि ग्रहणञ्च यत् ॥
दासस्य हि धनं यत् स्यात् स्वामी तत्र प्रभुः स्मृतः ।

[3] त्रिषु वर्णेषु विज्ञेयं दास्यं विप्रे न विद्यते ॥
(See Kātyāyana-mata Saṅgraha by N. C. Banerjee,
Calcutta University.)

[4] वर्णानामानुलोम्येन दास्यं न प्रतिलोमतः ॥
वर्णानां प्रातिलोम्येन दासत्वं न विधीयते । (नारद)

violate her modesty. If such sexual intercourse lead to the birth of a child, both the woman and the child should be freed.[1]

After the works of Nārada and Kātyāyana, we have the evidence of the Nibandhas, where we find practically the older laws and directions regarding slavery continued. Domestic slaves were liable to be divided amongst them by the heirs on the death of a man. Their manumission, too, depended on their payment of a ransom and the permission of their masters. In the Mṛcchakaṭika we have an instance of such a manumission. In that drama, the heroine Vasantasenā is pleased to grant freedom to Madanikā (on payment of money) and the latter becomes the mistress of Śarvilaka. No other important instances of manumission or other incidents relating to slavery are found in the Sanskrit literature.

After the Moslem Conquest.—After the Mussalman invasion, slavery received an impetus since slavery was a recognized institution in Islamic society. The Mussalman Sultans and grandees kept large numbers of slaves and imported slaves and slave-girls from abroad. But most of the victims to the cruel system were the conquered Hindus. Many of the Mussalman Sultans like Firuz Tughlakh kept large numbers of the Hindu slaves who were converted into Islam and their lives were at the mercy of their masters but able slaves like Kafur rose very high.

In mediæval Hindu India, too, slaves known as *Golās, Huzuris, Cākars,* or *Darogas* were kept by Rajput princes and the families of some of these exist even now in Jodhpur, Kotah and Bikanir (see Chudgar, *Indian Princes under British Protection,* Ch. V). Among ordinary Hindus, rich people often kept domestic slaves, who either sold themselves and their families for a cash payment and stipulated for maintenance, or mortgaged their liberty until they paid the debt back. The master had the right to exact their services and in cases of flight they were arrested and were punished or fined. The interesting work entitled Likhanāvalī attributed to the Maithil poet Vidyāpati contains a number of legal documents and forms, in which we have instances of the sale and mortgage of men by themselves for cash payments and stipulation for maintenance. We have also the forms of writs calling upon people to arrest a runaway slave (see letters, 55-61). From these, however, the masters do not appear to have powers of severe chastisement or infliction of heavy punishments on these unhappy men. Later documents in Bengali describing sale of families into servitude of the 17th and 18th century have been found.

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[1] स्वदासीं यस्तु संगच्छेत् प्रसूता च भवेत्ततः ।
अवेक्ष्य वीजं कार्या स्याददासी सान्वया तु सा ॥

NARAYANCHANDRA BANERJEE

POEMS OF INDIA

I. *In the Calcutta Zoo.*

Have you ever stood before a barred cage
In the Zoo, and watched the endless pacing
Of captive beasts whose sorrows know no voice,
But whose motion gives eloquence to grief?
Have you ever followed the brief wild flight
Of shut-in birds, beating with eager wings
Against the narrow confines of their jail?
They flutter ever blindly towards the light
Bruised against relentless walls that hold them
Prisoners from their heritage, the sky.
So God must watch us as we grope through life
With hearts insurgent, but enchained and bound ;
We, who would fly on wings and sing, or roam
The world at will, His captives too and mute,
Half beast, half angel, waiting for release !

II. *Recompense.*

In a dim lane where houses huddled, wrapped in night,
And secret life moved silently behind closed doors,
I saw, behind a latticed-casement, a fair girl
Leaning gracefully against bars outlined in light.
Dark-eyed and lovely as the houris in a dream
Of Muslim's Heaven, incongruous as a lotus
Blooming in its bed of slime, she touched with beauty
All the ugliness gathered in that sordid scene.
And seeing her, a maid so young and sweet and fair,
I quite forgot the foul and rubbish-littered lane,
And thought that on this earth no spot were so debased
But we might find some bit of beauty hidden there.

LILY S. ANDERSON

ROBERT BRIDGES

As a Poet pure and simple.

The Testament of Beauty, which represents the maturity of Bridges' mind and art, settles the question that though lyrics and allied varieties of comparatively shorter poems—composed between 1884 and 1921—have with Bridges their important place and great value and are never altogether abandoned, they cannot be considered as his characteristic type of poetry. He cannot surely be reckoned as on a level with such poets as Burns, Shelley or Swinburne.

His own favourite type is the longer poem interspersed with lyrics. Hence his Masks, for example, are more successful than his dramas proper. I have therefore for my present purpose decided to leave out of consideration his dramas, and dealt rather a little elaborately with his "Prometheus" and "Demeter."

In that connection we note his "sources" too (if such a pursuit be not placed to-day under a severe ban uncompromisingly). "I who loved," says he, "the purer style" [in "To Percy Buck (1904), published in *October and Other Poems* (1920)], as if unconsciously helping his critics to a right estimate of him. His models are the ancient classics. The style in these two pieces is chaste, perspicuous, restrained, though somewhat studiously perfected. We have remarked that he starts "*discussions*" in them—a method not given up even in *The Testament of Beauty*. The intellectual element is supreme but often it is tempered with subdued emotion. This practically determines his manner once for all.

Two Classicists.

What a contrast, for instance, to Milton's *Comus* in praise of temperance (pub. 1637) is presented by Bridges' Masks which are not as genuine offspring of the Renaissance. Both *Demeter* and *Comus* are occasional pieces implying a taste or leaning, more or less, anti-puritanical but these constitute no revolt as does Shirley's *Triumph of Peace* or Carew's *Cœlum Britannicum* (acted 1633). Besides, Milton and this his disciple have both made their Masks considerably more literary in character. Moreover, in *Demeter* we have no scorn of delight but, on the contrary, an apotheosis of Joy (Platos' "hêdonê" as distinguished from "eudæmony").[1] Yet a slightly pessimistic note is just introduced as if to point the moral—" the power of evil is no power at all against eternal good " (ll. 1068-69) which is akin to Milton's praise of chastity.

The Special Trait of Bridges.

Greek myths are re-interpreted (ll. 821-29), democratic modern ideals referred to (ll. 804-17) and the Ode in Act III (ll. 672-93) is purposely made thoroughly "English" (not Hellenic). Man's spirit here *"setteth beauty before wisdom"*[2] (l. 220) and the Ocean nymphs are drawn from the sea not by Poseidon's command but by the *beauty* of Persephone (377-79).

Demeter's ideal temple, inaugurated in Bridges' new Eleusis for man which man "needs on earth," is to be a "shrine of *beauty*," where the initiated may drink *love and light*, more than one of wisdom, holiness, goodness (1024-33). In *Comus* Milton is[3] considered to have "attained to his style." This may be said in Bridges' case not in respect of *Demeter* but rather of his poems of 1921 published as *New Verse* in 1925. Milton is *decorative* but Bridges restrained with, may be, not exactly "Doric delicacy." Bridges also eschews embroidery[4] which became a sort of vice with the poets of the "yellow nineties." *As a poem Demeter* is less beautiful than *Comus*. The "debate"-infirmity of Demeter is, however, shared by the piece with *Comus* and handed on to even *The Testament of Beauty*.

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[1] *Protagoras* and *Laws*.

[2] Italics mine.

[3] Stopford A. Brooke and Professor Elton.

[4] We shall presently say something more on this point. Mr. W. B. Yeats once fell a victim to this temporary vogue but soon shook off his early habit.

Beauty is a grand legacy left to us as its accredited *trustees* overtly in *The Testament* but we have hints of such a gift from the late Laureate even in *Demeter*. If we point out the *sources* of the wealth poetically amassed by this generous testator with a view to enrich the world with his noble bequest, there is no intention whatever of belittling his personal acquirements. If his own heritage, as we have laboured at the outset to show, was rich, richer are his personal contributions, however austere, restrained to severity, he may be. He never accepted anything without a thorough sifting of its true worth simply because it came readily to hand but always separated the ripe golden grain from the chaff so that he might leave to us only whatever is beautiful and sublime. His vast knowledge and his keen penetration have always helped him to the right choice.

Bridges an Artist.

Hence the *quality* of his art ; and Bridges is nothing if not a technician in art. His art is inseparably related to his mind, his expression to his thought, —his artistic method to his philosophic vision.

By *practice* he succeeded in discovering his own appropriate and suitable vehicle of expression in form, imagery and diction—being "preoccupied" (an adverse critic may say obsessed) with the problem of deliberate unison between the mode of expression and the life to be expressed.

In the prose essay—"The Necessity of Poetry"[5] (1918)—he speaks of himself definitely as an *artist* and of all art (including poetry) as "the expression of Ideas in some sensuous material or medium ;" and he adds that "the medium of Poetry is words."[6] He sounds a warning (at page 43 of the essay) against "the school which maintains that Art is nothing but competent *Expression*" and according to which "Art can make no distinction" between the beautiful and the ugly.

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[5] An Address given to the Tredegar and District Co-operative Society, Nov. 22, 1917, pub. by Cl. Pr., Oxford.

[6] This point will be elaborated later.

I shall presently say something regarding this school but must first refer to Bridges' valuable ideas about the importance of a right selection of *words* as the medium of Poetry. Words selected by Poetry must have as much sound-value as sense-value ; for, as compared with the other fine arts, the *art* of poetry attaches greater importance to its medium (in words) which is not merely (as in sculpture, painting or even music) a vehicle of expression of Ideas but " actually are Ideas " (page 6). Therefore in Poetry it is not enough (as in practical life) that a man can use words so that " his meaning is plain, his ideas clear, and his language unambiguous " (page 8). Philosophical or scientific *exactitude* is not favourable to possibility of explanation of life's profound mysteries which Poetry seeks to solve with the help of Imagination aided by Inspiration and which are beyond Reason (or Intellect)." Science defines to make ideas (concepts) free from vagueness or the " indefinite blur " due to their being " coloured or warmed with emotion." Poetry, especially of the Romantic type, revels in this quality. " Inspiration is sometimes," he says, " wholly expended in making vivid emotional pictures of scientific or rational ideas, and its magic then lies in the imagery which satisfies *even without interpretation*."[7] This applies more to Shelley's poetry than to that of Bridges, if we except his last production.

So far, this is all right. But does it by itself go far enough? A good deal depends on the scope and function that may be assigned to Imagination and on the interpretation of Inspiration.

Controversy rages round the view that Imagination can give rise to " visions containing something which men do not possess without them, which did not lie in our experience—in other words, that our imagination could create, become productive," " all possible forms are attainable by the imagination, even before it has found the elements thereof in the outer physical world." Expressionists join issue here with Impressionism which is held responsible for having buried, sunk humanity into soullessness and, in Art, for having given dominance to bourgeois rule. Impressionism is represented as "the falling away of man from spirit"—a degradation from which man must be rescued, must be saved, so that once more he may be a complete whole

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[7] Italics mine.

> "One harmonious soul of many a soul
> Whose nature is its divine control,
> Where all things flow to all, as rivers to the sea." [8]

Holding such views Bridges necessarily paid too great attention to his words and his imagery. For, in his view, "metrical poems are word-patterns" and metre he considers, unlike Wordsworth, to be a *necessity*. Fusion of sound and sense is "the magic of the greatest poetry" and this magic is dominant in *The Testament of Beauty*. While elucidating in his Keats' Essay some features of his own art he explains also his difference with the Victorians.[9]

His lecture on *Free Verse*[10] (1922) refers to the modern impulse being due to the conviction that old metres and prosodies are exhausted. Even in its desire to escape from metre, free verse must be rhythmical (meaning eurhythmic). In it rhythmic sense units take the place of the syllabic feet. Verse may thus be accentual, and something different from mere *cadenced* prose (which is the idea of Mr. Flint). Now Bridges believed that genuine poets possess natural sensibility to rhythmical form and also mastery of it. Rejection of metre is the negative side of the law of recognition of rhythms as fundamental and good poets combine rhythms that create *expectancy* [11] as they proceed.

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[8] Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* (Act IV) quoted with approval by Bridges in "The Necessity of Poetry" (page 22) in illustration of the principle that "Poetry though it embraces all possible aspects, and the scientific among these, builds its temple preferably with the untrimmed stone, or—to take Shelley's metaphor—it is in "thoughts' wildernesses' that the poet finds the home of his imagination."

[9] *Vide* his remarks on Keats' *Endymion.*

[10] Whitman practically as a great experimenter and innovator successfully tried "free verse" and was followed by such English poets as Henley but since 1918 the Sitwells (Edith Osbert and Sacheverell) have become its most vehement champions and by 1925 succeeded in convincing many doubters. French poetry is extraordinarily rich in such experiments.

We may just refer here to (1) ' Who Killed Cock Robin?" (1921) (2) "Bucolic Comedies" (1923) and (3) "Rustic Elegies" (1927). Edith's method, by the way, is purely "impressionistic." [*Vide* also A. C. Ward's "Twentieth Century Literature."] "The Impressionist" is claimed to be "the consummation of classic development;" he mistrusts nature, and surprises her before she has become humanised, and he wants to trap the impression at the instant of its first contact with us, while it is in process of turning into a sensation...To Impressionism man and the world have become completely one, and its acutest thinker, Ernst Mach says—"Nothing can save the "I." The senses do not deceive, Goethe held, the mind does and the "I" entangles sense impressions in mythological cobwebs." Hermann Bahr's "Expressionism," *passim.*

The conclusion arrived at is significant and suggestive: "In the art of English verse," he adds, "my own work has led me to think that there is a wide field for exploration in the metrical prosody, and that in carrying on Milton's inventions in the syllabic verse there is better hope of successful progress than in the technique of free verse as I understand it.[12]

He begins with mention of the dislike of poets of to-day towards *traditional* forms [his Essay (No. III in Collected Essays) on Poetic Dicton in English (1923).] There is a reference to the innovation started by Wordsworth and Coleridge in their rational revolt against the older poetic diction. His is also a plea for simple terms and direct forms of common speech. Yet he admits that *conventional* diction was made superbly poetic by Milton in *Lycidas* and by Shelley in *Adonais*. It is significant that Bridges ascribes the grand yet poetic style of Milton and Shelley to the advantages of their Hellenic culture. He favours restoration of old English words (*e.g.*, wanhope, inwit), and points out the dangers of the latter-day use of *dialectical* words (in imitation of Burns) which require translation into current English for general readers and warns that avoidance of conventional words or of the commonplace may be carried too far.

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[11] Referred to by L. Abercrombie too in his "The Idea of Great Poetry."

[12] Pp. 54-55, Collected Essays, Papers, etc. (1928), Essay II (being A Lecture on Free Verse delivered before a Literary Society of his own College at Oxford in 1922).

If space permitted we could show by quotations that Bridges' thought oftener than not determines his diction, specially in the *Growth of Love*,[13] *New Verse,* and *The Testament of Beauty.* Finally he wisely lays down that "all technique in Art consists in devices for the mastering of obstinate material"[14] and enumerates disadvantages due to out-and-out rejection of metrical systems,—*viz.*,

(1) loss of carrying power (as of Homer and Dante) afforded by fixed prosodies,

(2) dominance of self-consciousness (for each line must show convincing propriety of diction, rhythm, relative length, sonority and poetic value),

(3) liability to sameness of line-structure (monotony of form), and

(4) indetermination of the subsidiary accent.

Art and Religion.

In his *Testament of Beauty,* poetry is made to advance aesthetically the cause of true religion without forfeiting the supremacy that belongs to Poetry considered as Art and never degenerating into didacticism or sermonising in verse. This result is involved in his critical attitude to the Art of Poetry enunciated in the Second Part of his "Address on the Necessity of Poetry," which is exclusively devoted to the consideration of the intimate relation existing between Poetry, Morality and Religion. Here we have an extension, as if it were, of the Shelleyan position taken by that poet-critic in his well-known "Defence of Poetry." Bridges tells us that Poetry, Morality and Religion have the same basis—they all spring from those universal primary emotions of Man's Spirit which lead us naturally towards Beauty and Truth.[15]

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[13] *Cf.* (for instance) Son, 22.

[14] Essay on Free Verse, p. 54.

[15] Page 41.

Though rejected by the professional philosophers the Sermon on the Mount, we are told, is "an inspired moral poem."

Art was, no doubt, discouraged by the Reformation—which attitude Englishmen to-day have outgrown. It fell into disrepute owing to being allied with the mediaeval (Papal) Church but in true Cristianity the essentials are love, unity and brotherhood. Both in Art and Religion we in this democratic age look, Bridges holds, for salvation *in individual emotion.*

As regards ethics, Art has little to do with codified or conventional morality but "pure Ethics is man's moral beauty and can no more be dissociated from Art than any other kind of beauty"[16]—unless we hold that Art is nothing but competent Expression and may successfully express everything including what is ugly, grotesque or repellant.

Conclusion.

We must resolutely avoid getting entangled in the hot controversy of the champions of *great* versus *pure* poetry. It is enough for our present purpose to bear in mind that Bridges as a technician does not permit Bridges *the poet* to forget that though too much care and attention cannot be bestowed by a genuine artist on his *medium* of words (*i.e.*, language). yet "it is not the magic of language *itself* which accounts for greatness, but *that which comes to us* through and by means of magical language."[17] Great must be our admiration for Bridges' wonderful way of handling "words" and he that runs may read what an amount of assiduous effort has gone to the achievement of mastery of language accomplished actually by this poet-artist. Yet to us it seems that critics are liable to lose sight of the right perspective if they dwell at greater length on this aspect of his poetry and thereby fail to adequately recognise the value and importance of his ideas and thoughts. It is clear that our study has begun with a somewhat detailed treatment of thought-movement in his poetry.

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[16] Page 42.

[17] "The Idea of Great Poetry" by Lascelles Abercrombie, page 13 (but italics mine).

"Great poetry," says Mr. Murry who is identified by critics with the advocates of *pure* poetry, " is the utterance of that to which the human soul responds, of that which the human soul endorses. So that the history of the souls of the great poets is the most essential history of the human soul itself." He then accepts the interpretation of the " double-edged phrase,"—"a poet, pure and simple"—applied by Professor Bradley to Keats (who was one of Bridges' masters) given by the late Poet Laureate which we have quoted and commented on (at page 401 of the *Calcutta Review* for June, 1930).

Expressionists claim that " the first and foremost duty of Art should be to beautify[18] life," nay, " Art must produce life from within, must fulfil the function of Life." In his *La Gaya Scienza,* Nietzsche says—" Every art and every philosophy may be regarded as a healing and helping appliance in the service of growing, struggling life." [19] And Lascelles Abercrombie too observes that poetry " penetrates deeper, and mixes more intimately into our lives, than any other art, because the vehicle of its power is language ; and language is the very faculty of spiritual existence in this world [20] * *." Again, " Poetry exists as the perfect *expression* of experience, within the possibilities of language. With regard to what this critic calls *great* poetry, he further adds that " what we recognise in great poetry is this unconfused complexity of rich experience, this confluence of all kinds of life into a single flame of consciousness, triumphantly asserting its luminous unity over all the manifold powers of its world." Let me conclude this important discussion by quoting once more Mr. Murry (whose definition of great poetry I have referred to) on *pure* poetry which, he holds, " consists in the power so to express a perception that it appears at the same time to reveal a new aspect of beauty and a new aspect of truth."[21] An artist and technician like Bridges, who keeps before him the Hellenic ideal of workmanship and is a lover of the pure style and whose creed is that in the art of poetry the medium is identical with thought, is bound to be overscrupulous in his choice of language and imagery. Hints of zealous care are discernible even in such an early production as *Eros and Psyche.* Considered as poetry the piece in its treatment of joy in beauty and of the intimate relation of happiness and faith, goes to prove that at this stage of his development Bridges was more a "fashioner" than a "seer." For in this poem an old theme is refashioned--an antique story is clothed in a new garb or "loveliest vision" with over-elaborated artifice. The very division of the long poem into twelve books, each of which corresponds in its number of stanzas to the number of the days in the month concerned furnishing headings to the divisions, will more than prove our contention. Here as Morris would have it—"craftsmanship *is all.*"

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[18] Nietzsche.

[19] Book Fifth : We Fearless Ones 370 "what is Romanticism?"

[20] *The Idea of Great Poetry*—"Diction and Experience."

(*To be continued.*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

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[21] Keats and Shakespeare, Ch. I, "Introductory."

Reviews

Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, Part II—By Prof. M. A. Ghani, M.A., M.Litt.

The Review of Part I of Prof. Ghani's History of Persian Language and Literature, at the Mughal Court has already appeared in the February issue of the Calcutta Review. The Second Part has come out of the Press and is now before the public. It deals exclusively with the development of Persian Literature in India during the reign of Humayun. The learned author states that as Humayun had a great liking for Persian language and literature, and himself being a good poet in that language, he attracted many scholars and poets round him from different parts of Persia and other countries. Out of respect to the feelings of the Persians at his court and his fascination for Persian, he, unlike his father, had little or no desire for the Turkish language, and owing to his neglect towards it, the influence of Turkish language began to decline and dwindled away in his court.

The first chapter is full of chronograms dealing with events connected with the life of Humayun and other important events of his time. The reason given by the author is that the writing of chronograms was a popular feature of his reign.

In the third chapter the learned author has dealt successfully with the life and writings of poets and scholars who flourished during the reign of Humayun. Of these Maulana Muhammed Fàzil Samarqandi deserves special notice. He was a man of considerable learning, and his work entitled "*Jawahir-ul 'Ulum*" (or the jewels of science) was a most valuable product of the age, compiled in 946 A. H. (=1539 A.D.). It treats of one hundred and twenty different subjects, such as, History, Astronomy, Mathematics, Medicine, Logic, Philosophy, etc., etc. It may, in fact, be called a sort of Encyclopædia.

A notable feature of the poets of Humayun's reign is that many of them produced Persian-Hindi poetry composed in such a beautiful and elegant manner that it showed the possibility of mutual growth and free play with each other. It is evident from this that relations between Hindi and Persian had drawn closer and more friendly under Humayun than under other Moghal Emperors.

In the last few chapters, as in Part I, the learned author accounts for the definite advance made in Urdu under Muslem-Hindu cultivation of each other's literature. Badāūnī writes that the hybrid composition found complete favour with the gentry and on several occasions were sung before Humayun. Hindus and Muslems appeared to have publicly given up their prejudices not only in culture but also in the use of each other's literature. Rajput Princes and Hindu Rajas kept in their courts a special staff to deal with the original Persian documents. Similarly, Muslems kept a good staff ready to cope with Hindi correspondence. As a result of this harmony, Moslem poets of Hindi language on one hand and Hindu writers of Persian on the other hand sprang up in large numbers. The most notable Muslem poet of the age who combined Sanskrit and Persian scholarship, was Malik Muhammad Ja'isi. His memorable poem, the "*Padumavati*' written in terse Hindi language occasionally mixed with Persian is the best work ever written by a Mahomedan. The most curious thing was that he adopted Persian character for his text.

Inspite of the fact that the great savant, the late lamented Prof. E. G. Brown, has already surveyed in his masterly work the growth and development of Persian literature in India, still the want of a separate attempt exclusively dealing with the history of advancement of Persian culture in India was greatly felt. We therefore congratulate Prof. Ghani in supplying this want.

M. KAZIM SHIRAZI

"**The Mysore Tribes and Castes,**" **Vol. II**—By Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, B.A., L.T., Lecturer in Anthropology, Calcutta University (published by the Mysore Government Press, Bangalore, Price Rs. 12-8 or £1), with a beautiful frontispiece photo of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore and 77 valuable illustrations, is a neatly printed stout volume of 559 pages of useful reading matter, containing a good deal of original information which is the result of patient "field work" and industrious research on the part of an ethnographist who requires no introduction from us to the world of works in that department of human knowledge. The second volume comprises the writer's observations on tribes and castes, alphabetically arranged under A—B, dealing with the origin and tradition of each caste, distribution of its population, its internal structure, habitation, furniture and utensils used by it, and its numerous customs conveniently studied in relation to birth, marriage, puberty, sacramental ceremonies, inheritance and adoption, funeral, magic and religion. Occupation, social status, dress and ornaments are also appropriately considered and an illuminating summary concludes the study of each individual tribe or caste.

The treatment is thorough and conscientious. Difference of opinion is unavoidable, specially in what is in a way pioneer work, though the writer has to a considerable extent utilised materials, borrowed with acknowledgment, from a number of other workers, more or less authoritative. It seems to us, however, that some amount of compression was possible without any chance of taking away from the merit of the work as a whole. Our remark applies particularly to the portion devoted to *Brāhman* which is, besides, comparatively over-elaborated and made to cover pp. 297 to 549, *i. e.*, 253 pages out of a total of 559. The *Saṃhitas* have here been far too much laid under contribution. Quite a number of details could easily be omitted, not at all to the detriment of an otherwise highly commendable and intelligent work accomplished by this able writer. One or two illustrations too do not seem to have much to illustrate and therefore fail to really enhance the worth of the volume before us. This is not at all to say that we fail to properly appreciate the merit of a very diligent piece of original research which will surely throw light on many a dark corner of Indian ethnography and from which students of Indian history will derive really valuable help. Indeed at the end of an entertaining perusal of Mr. Iyer's remarkable book our feeling is one of gratitude to him for the profit with which we have carefully and patiently studied his work and we congratulate him on this addition to his other productions, calculated to keep up his reputation so deservedly won.

J. G. B.

The Feast of the Crystal Heart—(Poems and Dramas) and " **Among the Silences** " (Poems) by Uma Maheswar, Ahimsa Asram, Trivandrum, are two small volumes notable for easy flow of language, charm of melody and a pleasing mannerism of phrasing and diction. The dominant note is that of sadness which, however, never deepens into gloom. It is born of the poet's intense sympathy with the afflicted whose days and nights are wet with tears. Our preference is for "Brokenhearted," "The Autumn

Woe " and " The Court of Hush" from *Among the Silences*. " Love," the poet emphasizes, "is the root and truth of all." "The Immemorial Twilight " closes beautifully in the lines—

" The twilight spreads,
And a thought is on the brow of Asia,
Probing into the depth of her great self,
Firm as a rock in the midst of chances and change
Forging a dream for all time. A mystic trance
Hath fixed her, while the ages pass by slow."

It is not in vain that such a poet " strains his eyes to see afar the flame of a star."

The poems, we are told, were produced in a period of intense anguish just relieved by a flickering gleam of soothing hope. This idea runs through " The Millennial Dawn " (in 7 scenes). " Buddha " contains lofty ideas couched in noble language revealing that Saviour's inspiring personality through a well-selected series of events in his spiritual life, charged with deep meaning for humanity in tribulation. The tragic trials of *Sita's* last phase of life form the theme of another playlet unfolding the majesty of a pure woman's soul and a wife's chaste heart passing to immortal glory through the baptism of fire. The poet may claim to belong to God's household.

The deep mystery of human existence with its age-long questionings and yearnings presses somewhat heavily in these poems on a searching mind and the result is spontaneous outpouring of a sincere and sensitive heart touched with joy and sorrow alike, but the angel of supreme bliss and repose comes anon with his healing touch till all is blessednses and tranquility.

J. G. B.

Ten Plays of Shakespeare in Prose—by S. W. Cocks, M.A. (Indian Educational Service), **A Book of Verse** by Sir Henry Newbolt, and **The Appreciation of Poetry** by H. Martin, M.A., O.B.E. (Islamia College, Peshwar), are three neat and very useful publications of Messrs. K. and J. Cooper (Educational Publishers), Bombay, which we may safely recommend to our "*Intermediate*" students who will derive delight and profit from their perusal. The first being "paraphrase " of some of Shakespeare's most popular plays " in modern prose," in which " the characters tell the story as in the play," cannot be said to compete with Lamb's well-known "Tales," yet its English being more simple and modern it will prove more useful to Indian students of Shakespeare.

Sir Henry's anthology, meant mainly for students in India or the Dominions, will "furnish an introduction to English thought and language," through well-selected pieces representing English poetry from Blake to Bridges, to which have been added a few songs from Shakespeare, and one piece a head of Wotton, Campion, Shirley, Lily, Raleigh, Cowper, Carlyle, and something of Emerson, Longfellow and Whitman. Each individual anthologist has his own justifications for his choice, specially when it is limited. The *Index to First Lines* is made more valuable by the addition of the poet's name, which is a decided improvement.

The principles enunciated by Mr. Martin in his short but suggestive *Preface* have our approval and the Introduction, divided into eight sections full of information needful to our youngmen, is carefully written. One may perhaps say it is time to outgrow the habit of describing English metrical feet as Iamb, Trochee, Dactyl. etc., but beginners find such aid indispensable.

The method hit upon of helping with notes and hints the real appreciation of poetry to which an intelligent initiation is of the greatest importance in the case of beginners, is admirable. We feel confident that this little book will be very popular in its appeal, for it will amply repay a careful study.

The more such help-books are made so cheaply available to Indian students, the better and we congratulate the enterprising publishers.

J. G. B.

Chitor and other Poems.—By Shyam Sundar Lal Chordia. D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co. Price: Rs. 4.

There are twenty-nine sonnets in this collection. These are not the poet's first attempts and some of the sonnets are really worthy of admiration. The poet's seriousness of mood is easily discernible and his homage paid to the makers of Indian history—to Surdas, to Mirabai, to Rana Pratap Singh—will, we feel confident, strike a sympathetic chord in other hearts. While the poet is thus alive to the drama of the history of the past, he is not altogether indifferent to the contemporary world and his tribute to the Poet—Rabindranath Tagore—will be relished in the reading. The last but one piece calls for special notice, because it combines the mystical and poetical elements in the language, and the blend is delightful. There is a distinct improvement in rhythmic effect. There are some lines in other sonnets; which are equally remarkable and the lover of the muse would like to linger over lines like

> "Dull seems the dream of glory, riches, fame,
> Beside her strains of sadly-soothing ease."

A life full of rhythm seems to be spread out for the poet in the onward course of life, full of music and solace for self and others, and "the harmony, proportion and outline" noted by Prof. Speight of Osmania University in the preface are sometimes achieved by the poet.

P. R. SEN

The Evolution of Modern Marriage.—By F. Müller-Lyer. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London. Price 12*s*. 6*d*. 1930.

This is a translation from a German book on the subject, *Phasen der Liebe*, first published in 1913, and the English version by Isabella C. Wigglesworth has followed even at a distance of more than 16 years because the translator has felt the original to be still full of importance. The book is divided into 8 chapters:—in the first, the author has described how love has grown from primitive days through the family epoch into modern, which he labels as the *personal epoch*; in the second, he has traced the evolution of the motive for marriage through all these epochs; in the third, he has enumerated the different methods that have obtained for getting married—capture, exchange, service, purchase, dowry and love; in the fourth, he has given a description of the different phases of marriage; in the fifth, he has traced the changes in the social position of women to their causes; in the sixth he has discussed sexual morality; in the seventh and in the last, he has made room for general consideration of the method of phases and directional lines specially regarding the evolution of sexual relations. Thus, devoting a chapter each to love, motives for marriage, ways of obtaining wives, marriage and the position of women, the author has tried to make clear the relation between man and woman, which forms the first part of his enquiry, and then proceeds to the second part—whither do these complex manifestations move?—which takes up the last two chapters.

The book is therefore a comprehensive one, embracing the past, present and future in its scope, and will furnish a handy book of reference to many to whom Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*, though better documented and better written, will seem to be too bulky to be handled with ease and convenience. The author's aim is very practical; he wants to read the future by the help of the past and quotes the well-known formula of Comte—"*Savoir pour prévoir prévoir pour prévenir.*" He proceeds to make future prognostications about society not by applying the Marxian theory of the hegemony of economics even in its moderate form, but by the application of the method of phases or the method of directional lines. If all the phases through which civilisation has progressed for 'hundreds of thousands of years' (it is a very high sweep) be compared, we can realise the higher and the lower forms and we may then apply this measure for the better understanding of the way that civilisation moves. Such a survey emboldens the author to say that "with growing civilisation the primitive (biological) purely animal sex instincts will be overlaid with an ever richer imaginative life: and the sexual life will consequently be endowed with ever increasing spirituality." The last but one page (p. 243) is worthy to be quoted in text-books on sociology on account of the high and practical outlook of the author about his mission as a student of human civilisation and a worker for progress. It is refreshing to add that he acknowledges the sex instinct to be "the abysmal Proteus" which refuses to be strictly codified.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

British Expansion in Tibet—By Taraknath Das. N. M. Raychowdhury & Co., Calcutta P. 137.

British Expansion in Tibet is a small book ; but it will prove quite helpful to those who are now beginning to take some interest in Tibet as a political entity and are therefore anxious to know the general trend of the Sino-British relations since the time of Warren Hastings, Governor General of India during the seventies and eighties of the Eighteenth Century.

The book should be of special interest during these few months, as there have been almost daily reports in the papers regarding the Tibetan invasion into Hsi-kang, the special district to the west of Szechuan.

The book tells the story of British expansion in Tibet in a simple and comprehensive way. It covers a period of about a century and a half, and relates, in order, the various unsuccessful missions undertaken by the

British under Warren Hastings; the aggressive policies of Curzon; the bearings of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Russo-Japanese War upon the position of the British in Tibet ; the invasion into the Chumbi Valley led by Younghusband ; the Anglo-Chinese Agreement of 1906; the Anglo-Russian Entente of 1907; efforts on the part of China to reassert her sovereignty during the last years of the Manchu regime and the early years of the Republic; the Twelve Demands of 1917; and the bearing of Washington Conference upon the status of Tibet.

He shows very clearly that in trying to reduce Tibet to virtually a British province, the British government has been pursuing a slow but steady and sure policy.

The outcome of the Washington Conference seems to favor China to reassert her sovereignty over her outlying regions. But our author concurs with Professor Williams, formerly American Charge d'Affaires at Peking, in doubting whether this is actually the case. It is questioned whether the stipulation in the Nine Power Treaty regarding China's "sovereignty, independence, and territorial and administrative integrity" is of such a scope as would include Tibet. "Does it mean," asked Professor Williams, "that these Powers recognize Tibet as an integral part of China?" The present author has about the same thing to ask, when he says,

"Chinese sovereignty in Tibet is the acid test of the Nine Power Treaty. If its provisions are not applied to Tibet as a part of China, then it will mean that they are not to be applied in those parts of China which are regarded as spheres of interests of some of the Great Powers. In that case the Nine Power Treaty has done more harm than good to China. Because China will be forced to recognize that she has lost her sovereignty in such regions as Tibet, and Great Britain claiming "special interests in Tibet" has become the real beneficiary of the benevolent treaty executed at Washington (pp. 127-128).

Most books on Tibet were written from the British point of view, even those which appeared to be interested in the country only in an academic way. But Dr. Das is a Hindu, and looks at the problem of Tibet from the standpoint of peaceful development of Asia by Asiatics. Such a standpoint would have been unnecessary, had there not existed ever since the beginning of European expansion the double standard of international ethics, one for the stronger nations, and the other for the weaker. Our author rightly dwells much upon the presence of this double moral standard in international relationships.[1]

C. Ng.

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[1] From '*The China Critic*' of August 29, 1929.

Ourselves

VICE-CHANCELLOR'S ADVICE TO THE STUDENTS OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY AT THE PRESENT JUNCTURE.

According to a resolution of the Syndicate to that effect the following statement by the Vice-Chancellor on behalf of the Syndicate was issued :—

To

THE STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA.

It is an unusual and perhaps an unprecedented thing for the Syndicate of a University to address an open communication to students who have publicly announced that they intend to commit what is apparently a deliberate breach of College and University order. Such a step as we are taking would have been viewed with utter disapproval by educationists of an earlier date, and may perhaps be severely criticised by some of their successors at the present day. But while normal times may demand normal methods, we are convinced that the present situation is one which calls for other than merely conventional procedure. We therefore do not hesitate to appeal directly to you, although a number of you have in the opinion of some, put yourselves out of court by your public declaration of your contemplated action.

We have deliberately used the word "apparently" because we are convinced that you do not really wish to overturn the academic system, and that it is with the greatest regret that many of you will take the step which you say you are resolved to take. We do not at all regard you as children who are determined at any cost to obtain a lengthened holiday, and we desire to discuss the matter with you as with young men and women who are capable of deliberate and reasoned reflection, but who in their idealism and patriotism, are ready to sacrifice their own immediate interests for the sake of what they conceive to be the common good of their country. We can readily understand that the hearts of many of you are filled with deep and genuine sorrow at what has happened to certain of your countrymen, and that it seems to you unfitting that you should continue in your ordinary work when so many of your friends and leaders have allowed their ordinary routine to be disturbed and have deliberately placed themselves in situations which has resulted in a restriction of their personal liberty. You claim that it is unseemly that you should be going about your usual avocations in comparative peace and comfort, while they are enduring discomfort in greater or less degree.

In addressing you at this juncture we have not lost sight of any of these considerations, but yet we, who are entrusted with the educational interests associated with the University of Calcutta, have also a duty to perform and we consider that we should be failing in our duty if we did not say to you clearly and unmistakably that, in our opinion, loyalty to the best interests of your country and your University, not to speak of yourselves demands that you should continue at your work at the present time and steadily prepare yourselves for that future which, whatever its precise form may be, will certainly be one of great responsibility for those who are now the students of Bengal. You remember how Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and there could not have been any more staunch upholder of liberty in connection with the University than he was, appealed to the students not to allow the pursuit of their studies to be disturbed by extra academic elements, and besought them to wait until they had attained to "that prudent firmness, that ripe experience, that soundness of judgment in human affairs which is essential in politics and can be attained only in the battle of life, in the professions and in responsible positions."

Holding with all sympathy the view we cherish in regard to your duty and our own, we are firmly of opinion that the activities of the University in class room and examination hall should be carried on as far as possible in a normal manner, by all means which are consistent with the true spirit of a University. We are convinced that nothing is to be gained by incomplete expression of or departure from that University spirit, which is, or ought to be, one which manifests itself in calm and deliberate mutual action and in cordial good-will between Faculty and students. We are resolved that University order shall be maintained unimpaired, but we are of opinion that such order, amongst those who have reached the stage of University students, must rest, not upon compulsion but upon the willingness of students, to be guided by the wisdom conceivably possessed by those who are their seniors in years and the path-finders for them along the ways of learning. As a University therefore, we desire to make no use—and we would ask the constituent Colleges to make no use,—of any external compelling force for the purpose of maintaining peace within the premises of our institutions. Neither do we wish to depend upon the pains and penalties which may be supposed to await recalcitrant students. We shall not avail ourselves of methods of coercion, because it is our wish to express the University spirit in a different way.

Correspondingly, we appeal to you to meet us in this attitude which we take up, and we call upon the students of this University who wish to remain outside their Colleges and University classes, also to observe the requirements of the University spirit, and to refrain from exerting any constraint whatsoever upon those of their fellow students who do not agree with them. If they desire, as very many of them sincerely desire to enter their Colleges, allow them to do so without any interference on your part. This seems to us to be the only procedure which is consistent with true University life, and the only method which will enable us to perform our duty as we conceive it and avoid confusion and catastrophe by the perpetuation of an unseemly and unnatural controversy. Our duty is to keep the University and the Colleges open for their proper work. Your duty, as we conceive it, in the light of the present situation, is to continue your work as students and thus prepare yourselves in the most effective manner for the service of your country. If you do not agree with us, we appeal to you, at all events, to refrain, in loyalty to the University spirit of liberty and self-determination, from placing any obstacles in the way of those who wish quietly to continue their studies.

Some may say that they definitely wish to press the present situation to a catastrophe, and that no changes have ever been brought about except through crises which have arrested the attention of the world. We believe that there is a better way through reasonable procedure and cordial good-will. It is for the students of Bengal to show that this way is possible within the academic sphere. By calm continuance in their studies they will render an incalculable service in altering for the better the present distressing situation, and will thus show unmistakably that they are genuine lovers of their country. This does not in the least mean silence or compromise, but resolute preparation for the time when they will be able to give their fullest contribution to the common good.

On behalf of the Syndicate,

W. S. URQUHART,
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.

* * *

THE TAGORE LAW PROFESSORSHIP FOR 1932.

The following three subjects have been selected for the Tagore Law Lectures for 1932 :—

(1) The History of Development of Hindu Law in British India.

(2) The History of Development of Moslem Law in British India.

(3) The Law relating to Dissolution of Marriage and Judicial Separation in British India.

The Senate will proceed in the month of August, 1931, to the election of a Tagore Professor of Law for a term of one year, to commence on the 1st August, 1932.

The salary of the Professorship is Rs. 9,000 per annum and the Professor will be expected to deliver a course of not less than twelve lectures on one of the following subjects :—

(1) The History of Development of Hindu Law in British India.

(2) The History of Development of Moslem Law in British India.

(3) The Law relating to Dissolution of Marriage and Judicial Separation in British India.

The salary of the Professor will be paid in twelve equal monthly instalments, the first instalment to be paid on the first day of the month following that in which the first lecture is delivered.

Candidates for the Professorship are required to forward their applications to the Registrar on or before the 1st May, 1931, stating on which of the above-named three subjects they are prepared to lecture. Each candidate will forward with his application one hundred copies of a brief synopsis of his proposed lectures ; and if he so pleases, the same number of copies of his introductory lecture.

The Professor will, not later than the month of August following his election, forward to the Registrar complete copy (manuscript or type-written) of the lectures which he proposes to deliver.

* * *

THE JOGENDRACHANDRA GHOSH'S RESEARCH PRIZE IN COMPARATIVE INDIAN LAW FOR 1930.

The following subjects have been selected for the Jogendrachandra Ghosh's Research Prize in Comparative Indian Law for the year 1930 :—

(1) Adjective Law according to the Hindu Shastras.

(2) The Law of Torts and the Law of Crimes under the Hindu system.

(3) Place of women in Hindu Law (with particular reference to Dayabhaga) in relation to property as compared with the place of women in English Law.

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THE JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZES FOR 1932.

The following subjects have been selected for the Jubilee Research Prizes in (1) Arts and (2) Science for the year 1932 :—

Arts.—Irrigation in rural areas by applying the principle of co-operation.

Science.—Diamagnetism and Chemical Constitution.

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M. L. EXAMINATION, 1930.

The 8th of December, 1930, has been fixed as the date of commencement of the M.L. Examination, 1930.

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RESULT OF THE B.A. EXAMINATION, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 3,525 of whom 222 were absent and 13 were transferred to other centres. The number of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 3,290 of whom 10 were expelled, 1,563 were successful and 1,717 failed. Of the successful candidates 1,255 were placed on the Pass List and 292 on the Honours List. Of the candidates in the Honours List, 35 were placed in the First Class and 257 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List, 151 passed with Distinction. The percentage of passes is 47·5.

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RESULT OF THE B.SC. EXAMINATION, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the B.Sc. Examination of 1930 was 960, of whom 37 were absent and 3 were transferred to other centres. The number of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 920 of whom 3 were expelled, 438 were successful and 500 failed. Of the successful candidates 367 were placed on the Pass List and 70 on the Honours List. Of the candidates in the Honours List 11 were placed in the First Class and 59 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List 97 passed with Distinction. The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 1. The percentage of passes is 47·5.

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RESULT OF THE B.COM. EXAMINATION, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the B.Com. Examination, 1930, was 129 of whom 3 were absent. The number of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 126. The number of candidates who passed the Examination was 66 of whom 5 passed in the First Division. The percentage of passes is 51·6.

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FINANCE DEPARTMENT NOTIFICATION, DATED SIMLA, THE 4TH JUNE, 1930.

Revised Rules for the examination of candidates for admission to the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, the Military Accounts Department, the Imperial Customs Service, and the Indian Railway Accounts Service.

1. A competitive examination for the above services, shall be held in India at such time as the Governor-General in Council may direct, the maximum number of candidates to be admitted to the examination will not be less than 200. If the number of candidates exceeds that limit, the Public Service Commission shall select from among the applicants those who shall be admitted to the examination, having regard to the suitability of the applicants for the Services in question.

2. If a candidate is employed at the date of his application in Government service he shall make application through the head of his Department to the Local Government, if he is employed by the Local Government, or to the Government of India if he is employed in a department under the control of the Government of India.

If he is not in such service, he shall apply to the authority of the area in which his parents reside at the time of the application or have previously resided for a period of not less than three years, or in which he has himself resided (otherwise than as a student at a University only) for the like period.

3. A candidate must be a male and have attained the age of 22 (but not exceeding 25 on the 1st August of the year) who is either (*i*) a British subject of Indian domicile, who was, and whose father and mother were born within His Majesty's dominions and allegiance, or (*ii*) a British subject of Indian domicile, whose father was at the time of the candidate's birth and still is (or if dead, continued until his death to be) a British subject or a subject of a State in India, or (*iii*) a ruler or a

subject of a State in India in respect of whom the Governor General in Council has made a declaration under section 96-A of the Government of India Act.

4. Candidates over the age of 25 and under the age of 30 on that date, may be admitted to the examination (*a*) if they hold substantively a permanent post under Government and (*b*) if he is recommended by the head of his Department.

5. A candidate must be in a good mental and bodily health and free from any physical defect likely to interfere with the efficient discharge of his duties and a candidate who is found, after examination by a Medical Board, not to satisfy these requirements, will not be accepted for admission to the examination.

6. A candidate must satisfy the Governor-General in Council that his character is such as to qualify him for employment in the public service. No candidate who is in the employment of Government will be admitted to the examination unless the report from the head of his Department as to his character and attainments is satisfactory.

7. A candidate must hold a Degree of a University approved by the Governor-General in Council or the Senior Diploma of the Mayo College, Ajmere, or the Government Diploma in Accountancy.

Exception may be made by the Public Service Commission on the recommendation of the Local Government.

8. No candidate shall be admitted to the examination unless he holds a certificate given by the Public Service Commission of having been accepted for admission.

9. Candidates must pay the following fees :—

(1) Rs. 5 with the application form;

(2) Rs. 16 for the examination by a Medical Board; and

(3) if accepted for admission to the examination, Rs. 50 within three weeks after the notification of acceptance.

No claim for a refund of these fees will be entertained.

10. The examination will include the following subjects. Each subject carries the number of marks shown against it :—

Section A to be taken by all candidates :—

English	300
Viva Voce	200

Section B candidates are allowed to take not more than two of the following subjects, each of which carries a maximum of 400 marks :—

Political Economy and Economic History.
Mathematics (pure and mixed).
Physics.
Chemistry.
Indian and English History.
Philosophy.
Botany.
Zoology.
One of the following classical languages with its literature :—
Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian.

11. A candidate who takes Physics or Chemistry or Botany or Zoology as an optional subject must have undergone one year's laboratory training in an institution authorised to prepare candidates in that subject for a University Degree and must send in a voucher to that effect from the head of the Institution.

The following Universities have been approved by the Governor-General in Council, viz. :—

Indian Universities.

Any University incorporated by an Act of the Central or a Provincial Legislature in India.

The Mysore University.

The Osmania University.

English and Welsh Universities.

The Universities of Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Durham, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Oxford, Sheffield, Wales and Reading.

Scotch Universities.

The Universities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St. Andrews.

Irish Universities.

The University of Dublin (and Trinity College), the Queen's University of Belfast.

A. C. McWatters,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

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FINANCE DEPARTMENT NOTICE, SIMLA, THE 4TH JUNE 1930.

No. F. 46 VI Ex.-I.—A competitive examination for admission to the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, the Military Accounts Department, the Imperial Customs Service, and the Indian Railway Accounts Service will be held at Delhi commencing on Monday, the 1st December, 1930. The rules for the examination are published (separately in the Gazette) with resolution No. F. 46 VI Ex.-I of to-day's date. Candidates accepted for admission to the examination will be informed at what place in Delhi and at what hour they should present themselves.

A candidate seeking admission to the examination must apply on the prescribed form before the 1st August, 1930, through the Collector or Deputy Commissioner of the district in which he resides, to the authority mentioned in rule 3 of the rules. A candidate from a State in India must apply through the Political Officer or Agent. Copies of the Application Form may be obtained from the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Simla, or from the authority mentioned in rule 3.

A. C. McWATTERS,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

* * *

SYLLABUS.

Section A (Compulsory).

1. *English.*—An essay and a paper designed to test the candidate's power to write and understand English.

2. *Viva voce.*—The examination is intended to test the candidate's alertness, intelligence and general outlook. In assigning marks regard will be paid to the candidate's previous careers.

Section B.

(Optional subjets of which not more than 2 may be taken.)

There will be two papers in each subject, each of 3 hours.

A choice of questions will be given in each paper.

In the optional subjects the papers will be approximately of the standard required for an Honours Degree in an Indian University.

3. *Political Economy and Economic History.*—The papers will include Industrial History and will have special reference to India. Candidates should be prepared to illustrate theories by facts and to analyse facts with the help of theory. The history of economic thought will be included.

4. *Mathematics (pure and mixed).*—There will be one paper on Pure and one on Mixed Mathematics. The subjects included in Pure Mathematics will be—

(1) Algebra, Trigonometry and Theory of Equations with Determinants.

(2) Pure Plane Geometry and Analytical Geometry of two and three dimensions.

(3) Differential and Integral Calculus and Differential Equations.

The subjects included in Mixed Mathematics will be—

(1) Statics (including Theory of Attractions and Potential) and Hydrostatics.

(2) Dynamics of a particle and Elementary Rigid Dynamics.

5. *Physics.*—There will be one paper on General Physics, Heat and Sound and one on Electricity, Magnetism and Light.

6. *Chemistry.*—There will be one paper on General (including Physical) Chemistry and Inorganic Chemistry, and one on Organic Chemistry.

7. *Indian and English History.*—The examination will be in Indian History from the beginning of Asoka's reign to the close of the 19th century and in English History from 1485 to 1880. The papers will include questions on social and literary developments.

8. *Philosophy.*—There will be one paper on Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics, and one on Logic and Psychology.

9. *Botany and Zoology.*—There will be two papers on each subject. Vegetable Physiology will be included in Botany.

10. *One classical language with its literature,* namely—

(1) Latin,
(2) Greek,
(3) Sanskrit,
(4) Arabic, and
(5) Pesian.

Candidates will be expected to show a knowledge of the principal classical authors and to be able to translate from and compose in the language.

Note.—Sanskrit must be written in Devanagri characters.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1930

REBIRTH IN THE PALI SCRIPTURES

I wish here to say a word of somewhat maturer import than that which I wrote some seven years ago as supplementary to the second edition of my manual Buddhist Psychology (1st ed., Quest Series, London, 1914; 2nd ed., 1924). It is the reader who, when he has read what I will now say, must judge whether the 'maturer' means added worth and deepened vision, or not. I will at the outset only say thus much: that here he will no more find sayings from the Pali records put unquestioningly—as the records claim to do—into the mouth of the Founder of the Sakyan teaching. Beyond this correction in historic method, he will find no definite reversion of judgment; he will find added matter and, I think, sounder emphases. He were a poor man of the pen who could add to his experience seven years of study intensive and comparative, and write nothing wiser on any portion of it after that!

Before I summarize what the Pali Scriptures contribute to the Indian teachings on rebirth, it may be wise to sketch very briefly that which had been, or was, current when the Sakya movement took birth. I can do this with a surer hand now that, since I wrote as stated above, we have the miniature sketches on this subject, given in historic order by Dr. Radhakrishnan in his *Indian Philosophy* in addition to the earlier summary contained in Deussen's *Allgemeine Geschichte.* It is only when the former writer comes to Sakya called Buddhism, in which he will have found no historical criticism to guide him, that he lapses, with writers on Buddhism, into taking that Protean tradition of many changes, more or less, as having no history.

On rebirth he points out, that, in the Vedas, the subject of survival of death is on the whole joyous. The deceased may look forward to a 'good time,' of the kind we associate with the word Walhalla, of enjoyments of a material sort; but that a terrible doom is also possible, Indra and Varuna being hymned as 'thrusting down' this man or that. The 'righteous' man will find reward; but no "gradations of happiness" are met with. Nor is the back and forth of life on earth and elsewhere, worded later as *saṃsāra,* found. And there is much vagueness in mandates as to the how and where: "one becomes like the moon," for instance, and "one becomes just the moon" (*candram eva bhavati*).

In the later period of the compilations called Brāhmaṇas, we find the notion of rebirth as a "Way:" the Yānas of the Fathers, of the Gods; we find rebirth on earth emergent, held as possibly a blessing; and specific rites held to avail in procuring rebirth among specific gods. Not yet is there a computing, that a period of x punishment there may expiate y misdeeds here. On the whole it was "an age of Pharisaism," yet withal "suggestive of higher ethics."

In the period when the earlier Unaniṣads were compiled, there was advance in eschatological discussion, but no consistent theoretical unity. The idea of a return to earth-life was being matured by teachers, yet very unequally distributed among them. Rebirth as animal emerges, and also the idea of life as suffering begins to show its head.

I would add, that there is something which we do not find, coupled with something we do find in these earlier Upaniṣads, to which perhaps hardly sufficient notice is given. I refer to any teaching in them about a process of *awarding* awaiting the man surviving death, coupled with any teaching about the man finding *warding*. We know how very prominent a feature is the former in the early Zoroastrian records, but in the modern treatises I have mentioned (I am unwilling to rely on my own imperfect knowledge) I find no mention of anything of the sort. But I do find, though it is but slightly worded, a sense of warding as needed by the new arrival in the next world; and it a warding of man by man (*puruṣa*).

"Now whether there be cremation-obsequies or not, they pass over...(here follows the vague sort of sequence 'into this and that,' affected by Upaniṣadic teachers)...There is a (*puruṣa*) man who is not-of-earth (*a mānava*); he leads them on to Brahman..." (*Chāndogya*, IV, 15).

The man so led is bound for the highest, the uttermost goal; he is, as we might say, a post-graduate ; tribunals are not for him. But whether we consider such a case, or turn to the tribunals of other cults, all should come, properly, under the head of other-world warding, both of them who are immigrant and of them who also, in view of a great and ceaseless immigration, live in need of warding from immigrants.

I now go on to inquire into the contribution made to these ideas by Sakya, that is, by early Buddhism. My work in this field has shown me, that Sakya gave the world a more definite doctrine, cult, or theory of re-birth, reincarnation, or transmigration than any other religion before or since. But this goes only so far as to say, that it is less vague than any other in this matter. Indefinite it is, unfinished, a patchwork, but only less so than other creeds.

In the original doctrine, so far as we can really get back to it, we find

(1) the fact of rebirth accepted as universally true ;

(2) the whence and whither of rebirth fairly well defined ;

(3) the acceptance of rebirth as not of a discarnate mind or soul, but of the man having a body and mind; still, therefore, an inmate of space;

(4) no clear information as to the 'how' of rebirth.

1. The birth of the Sakyan movement, taking place not so much after, as during the compilation of the earlier Upaniṣads, or at latest soon after, the first teachers found, in the religious world of their place and time, discussion on life as a whole, but no "consistent theoretical unity." Judging by the Suttas of the Four Nikāyas or Āgamas and the earlier Anthologies, we find the vague earlier beliefs in life before this life on earth, and in life after it, gathered up into something approaching a definite orderly doctrine. We find in them, not so much faith in what *might* happen hereafter, and faith in what *might be compelled* by efficient ritual to happen hereafter, as acquiescence in a scheme of pre-existence and post-existence which amounted to what we should now call a law of nature. You were and you will be, whether you pray and sacrifice, or whether you do not. Your life is taken up into the law of cause and effect. I venture to think this was a new standpoint. I am not saying it was of the Sakyan mandate or gospel. I am not saying it does not here and there emerge in the older Upaniṣads. I say rather, that it was astir among the new ideas of that time, and the teachers both of the standard religion and of reformers like the Sakyans felt its power. With this I have dealt elsewhere.

How was the more definite, more concordant position expressed in words?

Specific or technical terms for it are far more to seek in the Piṭakas than they are in our own discussions on them. Rebirth, reincarnation, transmigration, survival, metempsychosis —all are Western labels. Even the more or less adopted word *saṃsāra* means simply a faring on, being used with the companion term *saṃdhāvana*, running on: expressions of a worldwide acknowledged belief. Terms that we do find are the following :—

(*a*) Different spheres of existence or worlds are called 'becomings' (*bhavā*); never 'existences.' The word was there for the using (*atthitā*), but it is never so used. This is, I think, a significant feature too much slurred over.

(*b*) Rebirth is often termed 'again-becoming' : *punabbhava.*

(*c*) It is now and then referred to as a long long faring on, running on 'of you and me.'

(*d*) Recollection of it by a few abnormally developed persons is called 'recollection of former residings' (*pubbe-nivesānussati*).

(*e*) Death is often carefully alluded to as the breaking-up (*bheda*) of the *kāya,* a word which may mean equally body, and concrete 'frame' or 'group.' The laying down of this, the taking up of another also occurs.

(*f*) The most usual term, perhaps, is just 'happening' or 'arising' (*uppajjati*), after 'falling,' 'deceasing' (*cuti, cavati*). There is no spatial emphasis here of a going up or down, beyond the general and natural envisaging of renewed energy as a 'getting up' and of death as a 'lying down.' There is, it is true the less frequent term met with: *avakkanti*: 'coming down into,' for the rebirth of a man, who is in such contexts spoken of as either *viññāṇa* : substantialized mind, or *nāmarūpa* : shape with name. But neither is there here any spatial emphasis beyond what is analogous to natural envisagings just referred to; the term is also applied to advent of sorrow or happiness.

(*g*) In the stereotyped definition of birth (*jāti*) the word *saṃjāti, i.e.*, going-on-birth occurs, but I do not meet with it applied to birth separately. "That which of such and such beings in such and such a group (*nikāya*) (is) birth (*saṃjāti*), descent (*okkanti*), more-production (*abhinibbati*), manifestation of body and mind (*khandhā*), acquisition of sense : this is called birth." (*Saṃyutta-Nikāya,* ii,...).

(*h*) The beginning of the life-series is stated to be unknowable, the ending of it is stated to be possible if the man will.

(*i*) That it is a given man or woman who lives on, when the temporary body is discarded, is nowhere referred to as other than to be understood and accepted. There may have been change of name, both in reappearance on earth and in immigration into another world; the Commentaries give instances; but the man, although in process of becoming, does not lose identity. This is consistently shown in one Jātaka after another, when the teacher is said to "connect" the story with the present: "A was X, B was Y, but C. was just I."[1] And in the Suttas also: "*I* was then that Brahman chaplain: *I* was then that young Jotipāla"...and emphasis herein attains its limit in the following: "Now it may seem to you, Ānanda, that at that time Jotipāla was a different person. But you should not look upon it like that. *I* at that time was Jotipāla." (*Majjhima-Nikaya*, ii, 54, P.T.S. ed.).

Moreover, recognition of visitors from the next world, as of men who have preserved their identity, is attributed, in the Suttas, to those who are psychically, abnormally gifted, as was the Sakyamuni, Moggallāna and a few others. Such recognition is recorded in visits of the deceased king Bimbisāra, the philanthropist Anāthapiṇḍika and the soldier Ajita, general of the Licchavis. The contexts are not the telling of dreams, nor of allegories.

2. The possible whence and whither also were in Sakya brought into clearer relief than before. They are usually enumerated as three 'becomings,' or, more specifically, as five 'bournes' or 'objectives'-in-going (*gati*, *gatiyo*). English here is poor, and I have to be either ultra-old-fashioned, or ultra-modern. The three are the world, or worlds of desire (*kāma*), restricted in Sakyan days, from the broader Vedic use to mean sense-desire; the world of things seen (*rūpa*); the world or worlds of things unseen (*arūpa*). The first included all rebecoming of a grosser sort, to wit, purgatory, animal life, petas or manes, a life of intermittent misery, earth-men and devas of the next world in five groups. The second was otherwise called world of the

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[1] "*Aham eva ahosi.*"

Brahmās, where presumably the three more physical, less intellectual senses were negligible and sense was mainly confined to sight. The third was the worlds of vaguely conceived, practically discarnate beings, access to which, or to earth from which, is not recorded as an earth-experience. Of the five *gatis*, the first four and part of the fifth are of the Kāma-world. Rebirth as *asura*, a sort of titan or discarded deity, is sometimes included in categories of unhappy rebirth. A third classification is that of the four *yonis*, or matrices, to which we may recur.

Of the five 'bournes' the fifth is a cumbrous concept, for under the word *deva*, or *devaloka* is implied a very dumping-ground both for survivals in eschatological beliefs, and also for results of the Indian logical fantasy playing about with *possible happenings*, such as rebirth of being (*satta*) without awareness (*saññā*), a possibility evoking endless catechism in that late book of the Abhidhamma, the Yamaka. Such beings appear as lifeless as logical abstractions would be. Such beings only live, for us, when they begin to think, whereupon they promptly die And the *arūpa* devas, who, as unseen by any man, are an idea of the bodyless, are practically just fetches of abstract thinking, with no other reality. So in the Dhammapada we read :

> *pītibhakkhā bhavissāma devā-ābhassarā yathā* (ver. 200),
> rapture-enjoying shall we become like the radiance-emitting devas,

where there are still the concepts of experiencing and of visibility. But in the *arūpa*-brahma-world there remain but (*a*) space, (*b*) mind, (*c*) and (*d*) negations.

3. Where we are shown any inmates of the worlds unseen, we find creatures having both body and mind akin to our own. Sufferers and enjoyers in the 'next' world were, according to Sakyan tradition much visited by Moggallāna, that he might have more weight in teaching men how to shape their present lives by what he could, as eyewitness, tell them. Of the former, the so-called Petas, these are reported as dwelling around the

walls of earth-villages in dwellings sometimes highly decorated. Sometimes they are reported as comely beings, but all, more or less intermittently are said to be suffering from some distressing penalty in the body, because of their ill deeds on earth. And their term of suffering could be shortened by the transferred merit of their human kinsmen's benevolent acts. Thus they are to each other as substantial in body as earth-people are to each other, and are of average intelligence. Their world was the centre of their universe, and if they looked longingly for help from earth, it was analogous to our looking for help, uplift and consolation from a world 'above,' which is not as substantial a concept either to us, as is our present world.

But—and here is where the Sakyan tradition in its older stratum is interesting—their other worlds were not above. 'I am not so sure about the worlds below.' They, the woeful ways, are that in Abhidhamma and Commentary. But in the Jātaka account of Nimi's drive in the divine chariot there is no definite downhill for the visit to purgatory, nor an upwards in the turn of the chariot when heading for the deva-world. The latter is in the air, the other isn't, and that is all. There is an approach to the idea of world's co-penetrating space. And this is a more significant concept for us than it used to be. It was easy for Christian belief to rest in an 'up into heaven' and a 'descended into hell,' when space had not been charted to astronomy as far as thought can reach, and when there were no Antipodes. But we do not now believe in a survival on the moon or stars or with Veda hymns, at the back of the sun. We have to learn to conceive not so much, not so wholly an otherwhereness as an otherwiseness. One day this will be our most practical problem in Relativity. It may be that the otherwhereness is more of a super-within-ness than a hyper-expansion of the external.

The idea of up and down grew up in Sakya, it is true, and even comes in for precise measuring in the day of the Milinda Questions. But in the Suttas there is nothing of that. Of deva-world visiting inferior deva-world (inferior in worth) we only read of the need of the former to assume a relatively gross bodily frame. But for a man of earth to visit either of the other two worlds of becoming, presuming he was abnormally gifted, the transit is said to have been effected by an effort of will (the word 'will' is not there), which is stated with the true psychological sense of referring the willed mandating to the 'man.' "Just as a strong man stretches out his flexed arm, or flexes his outstretched arm, so X, vanished thence and was made manifest (pātur-ahosi) in Y." All the more far-fetched, if decorative symbolism of wings is in this literature undreamt of. " Seated cross-legged he can travel through air as a bird on the wing," said of saintly hyper-efficiency, is the nearest approach to that.

And once in those bright realms, called collectively sagga, svarga: 'happy limit,' the earthly visitor does not find himself among disembodied 'spirits'—really a very impossible conception for us as yet—he is with men and women apparently as complete in furniture of body beminded (sa-manin) as he is himself. They see him, walk to meet him, take his arm, seat him beside their seat, and talk, all of course impossible without bodily organs. If an illusion or mirage is implied, there is no uttered hint of it. So also when devas come to earth from either sphere of becoming, they use arms (in salute), legs and voice, and wear clothes, not to say armour and weapons. They are longer-lived, more mobile, happier than earth-folk, and have, some at least, the power of reading thought. These are the deva-'conditions,' but in kind they are human people. Of the earth they had been ; of the earth many of them would be again. As it were clothes, they have changed bodies, and therewith psycho-physical reactions ; they are not wraiths.

It may be noted that I speak here of devas, and not, as the word is usually translated 'gods.' It is true that the denotation of 'god' is wide and diverse, but the word should not be over-extended. When is a god not a god?

I should say, that a god is a god when he has, if not, may be, creative power, at least informing influence, controlling force, some power to bestow or withhold, aid or harm, reward or punish, and withal some form of cult and votaries. When he has nothing of all this, at least outside his own sphere of 'becoming,' then is he no god in a legitimate, unstrained use of the term. In the Vedic pantheon we do get deities having these attributes. But in the later age, when the Sakyan church took birth, it was only that which we should here and now call the 'state' religion, the popular form of religion, in which personalized ideas of the Supreme, of powers unseen, were recognized and by the professional priesthood, were waited upon as 'gods.' Among that professional priesthood there were, at the same time, many more earnest men of religion, Brahman teachers, who taught practically a thorough-going *immanent* theism, to wit, that deity was knowable by man as within and akin to himself,—in Indian idiom, 'to the self'—the Warder of man was within, the Mentor of man was within; man was no atom dragged in the following after some warrior-god; he was the shrine of godhead; he was it.

Now the influence of this teaching would tend to leave dis-deified, and unworshipped a world of beings still referred to as devas. They would not become dead ideas; they would come to be rated as of a different status; they would be levelled down to that of the world of those who had, as we might say, 'gone before.' The population of the deva-world became restocked by the dying on earth of worthy men and women. And the Suttas bear witness to rejoicings among devas, when there is an influx of worthy 'humans' well taught by a worthy gospel, as well as to mourning when the influx is one that swells the hosts of unworthy realms. Such a change in standpoint did not avail in the long run to banish either the professional rites and names, or the many local cults of this or that tree-*devatā*, and others. But it certainly changed the 'content' of the word deva for the growing Sakya cult.

No; Buddhist devas are not 'gods.' And one way to understand Buddhist doctrine is to cease calling them so; to cease also the parrot cry, with which many Buddhists complacently indulge, that early Buddhism was ‘ atheistic.’ Buddhists ceased to be ‘ Deva-ists ’ and this was because the earnestly religious world about them had ceased to be so :—Mahā-Deva-ists were perhaps a juster word. But no worshipper of the Inner Monitor, *whom Gotama worshipped, under the name of Dhamma,* can justly be called atheist, unless it be first asserted, that by ‘ theist,’ worship of that inner guide only in the personalized form of something external be meant.

The word deva thus became a much-needed, much-used word in Sakya. The will to know the fate of those gone before was then very alive and vocal. The fact that the Sakyamuni was a great ‘psychic’ brought, it is recorded, men and women in great numbers to him to ask if he could give them tidings. The Dīgha-Nikāya Suttantas, the Dhammapada Commentary have much to say about this. It was much to be able to affirm, to believe, that ‘ our Tissa,’ ‘my Nandā’ was reborn a deva, a devī in the happy world. And it is for that matter curious, that while Christendom has always maintained its constant, if very vaguely conceived doctrine of survival, it has never coined a good word for the survivors. But it has been hampered by its want of light as to the body in which we survive, by its myths of a waiting sleep and of opening tombs ; moreover it never had just the gift of a good ‘ spare ’ term such as was the fate of Sakya. Pure spirit is as yet an impossible conception. When progress in the theory of survival becomes more generally intelligent, either a word for ‘ survivors ’ will be found, or we must hold by ‘ soul ’—souls that we *are,* not souls that we ‘ have.’ The word soul is capable of covering both us and our bodies, witness the S.O.S. signal, which surely refers mainly to bodies. At the same time there is a spectral feebleness about the word, which will need new infiltrations if it is to be worthy to stand beside the Sakyan ‘ deva.’ On the other hand there are, as we may say, reserves of strength in the word soul, in the uses of it, which are undreamt of in the more externalized 'deva.' Let the reader consult the rich abundance of meanings in the citations in good dictionaries from Johnson to the Oxford Dictionary, and he will see what I mean. But it is this very manysidedness which obscures the simpler, more clear-cut term that we need for just 'the man as surviving death.' If we could only get into our religion a satisfactory doctrine of 'the man,' then possibly those many implications of soul would fall into place.

4. I come to the matter of the how of rebirth: what did Sakya hold happened in the process? In what did rebirth consist?

This may seem to inquirers to be for all and every religion an insoluble crux, a problem of which it is not reasonable to expect the key alone in Buddhism. And whatever the Founder may have, as the records claim, decided to withhold in his pronouncements, we are, in Sakya, dealing with, if not a primitive, yet with a pre-scientific attitude of thought. And further, we ourselves have not yet come to any well-attested conclusion as to the relation between 'ourselves' and our bodies. It is anyway curious, but it is a fact, that whenever writers strive to get explicit on how 'Buddhism' conceived rebirth, he, or she—I too have sinned—always goes, not to the older Suttas, but to Pali books of a much, much later date. The 'Buddhaword' is put aside, and the relatively unauthoritative word is trotted out. Yet the Founder taught for nearly half a century. And no Paraclete came to make wise the later men. What is wrong with the Pali Suttas, late, in respect to the very day of the Founder's teaching, though they relatively are? What happened according to the Suttas, when a man came to die?

They did not say, that there would be immediate rebirth on earth, as man. Their theory is, that this, in general, was a very difficult thing to obtain. Putting this aside, the doctrine of the Suttas is, that the man re-enters other world-denizenship immediately, *either* without the intervening embryo stage in a parent, as *opapātika*, or ' reborner,' (in a deva-world), or, as *nerāyika* (purgatorian), in hell, that is a temporary hell, *or*, else, with the embryo stage, in the animal kingdom.

Here we find nothing more informative than the transition as a thing done. No light is thrown on the *thing in the doing*. Whatever came to be the disbelief in the persistence of an invisible ' man ' or soul, the language both early and late stating the fact of the transit is always that of a persistent entity: The man (*huggala*) is " The bearer of the burden of body and mind ;" *he* dies and (with or without ' at the breaking up of the body ' being avoided) is reborn (arises) in such and such a world. I will return to this presently. A word first on the belief in animal rebirth.

Sakya, as I have indicated, found a belief of the kind ; we see this in the older Upaniṣads (though not earlier). Or did it *not* find such a belief ? There can be little question but that the Upaniṣads underwent in time as much editing as did the Piṭakas—what if the brief allusions, not integral at all to the general teaching of the Upaniṣadic schools, are glosses, due possibly to Sakyan influence ? And not to very early Sakyan influence at that? I have put forward the theory,[1]—hold it strongly—that the founders of Sakya did not teach rebirth as animal as any part of their central figure of life as a Way (*mārga*) of the worlds. I think that the belief belonged to primitive popular tradition, in common with tree-worship, belief in devils and much else and was waiting to be exploited when, with a great growth in monastic parasitism, it became of first importance to make the alms-supported teaching popular and attractive. And more : it was consonant with the decline which is revealed in the Piṭakas, in the sublime worth and sanctity of the concept ' man,' that the notion of reincarnation in an animal became not only not repugnant, but plausible.

It is to read the new into the old to see in the notion any special Indian, or Buddhist sympathy with animals as being by nature akin to man. They are never included among 'beings:' *sattā*. Due worth is paid to the relatively high intelligence of horse and of elephant as beasts. But the only general reference to life in the 'matrix' or world of animals dwells on its miseries:—"In many more ways could I talk of how hard it is to state adequately how ill is (life in) the animal world" (*Majjhima*, iii, 169). Older estimates of Buddhism will have rated the belief in animal rebirth as linking it with the paganism of old cults of other continents, infecting the European tradition through men like Pythagoras, Empedocles, Plato, yet only played with by them. The modern West, in its excessive cult of the animal, or at least of one or two kinds, tends to overrate this decadent tendency in Sakya or Budddism, and to follow uncritically the Piṭakas in this respect. It would be of interest to pursue the question, both in view of the little animal-worship there is in Indian cults, the climax attained in the idea of the sanctity of the individual man *quâ* man, when Sakya was born, the fact that any world-religion worthy of the name reveals a more, and not a less in human possibilities and future, and the fact that the decline of Sakya was marked chiefly by just these two changes: the worsened worth in the theory of 'the man' and the resort by monk-teaching to fables, especially of men reborn as animals. The last is on a level with the unworthy exegetical definition of the man: *puggala*, as 'hell-gobbler': *puṃgala*. But here I must get back to the main subject.

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[1] *Stories of the Buddha*, Introduction, London, 1929.

We have now to consider the how of the man surviving and encountering apparently as adult (infantile rebirth or survival gets even less careful consideration than it does among ourselves) the result of his earthly actions. There was the alternative of Nirvanā, for which, even on earth a man or woman was held to be ripe enough. But that was held to be other than being in any way reborn. Mysterious as the going of the flame of dead fires—by no means itself a going out into nothingness, as physicists of acumen now remind us—untraceable as path of bird in sky, there were, the wise poem says, no words to hand to speak of this. I revert to what is both conceived and discussed ; or rather what fails to be discussed.

I am not here dwelling on any pre-determined fate awaiting the survivor. We are as yet vague and weak in so-called eschatological treatment, and tend to merge the one in the other. I will only say in passing, that, passed over as it usually is in treatment, the Sakya doctrine comes second only to that of Zoroastrianism in emphasis on the fact of adjudication, of the judgment of a tribunal, in the case of rebirth from earth to the next world. No parallel statement is brought forward, I believe, in the case of an inmate of that world passing back to earth. We have of such a case only a little Sutta with poem, in the book called *Iti-vuttaka* : ‘ the Thus-said-ings.’ A deva falls sick with symptoms of decease, and his friends wish him well on his impending return to earth, admonishing him in the good way (§83). Nor, in the case of the arrival from earth, is anyone's judgment described save that of the man who has let slip his opportunities and been knowingly heedless. The heedful are only alluded to as being safe and happy. The Sutta may well have been, in its original form,—it retains a very vivid emphasis —an inspired message, but, as teaching, it was just the heedless who most needed it, and whose case is therefore thrown into high relief. I may add, that for all the proneness to symbolic speech, and albeit the word ‘ weighing ’ was a figure for deliberating, and judging, the ‘scales,’ so familiar to us in Christian art, do not appear.

But there was, in this matter of destiny at rebirth, this lively belief in adjudication, in the person of the judge (he is the ancient Vedic Yama) and in the *dossier*, and in the idea of a legal ordinance administered. In other words, there is, at least in this branch of the great subject, nothing automatic. The man does not wake up to a good or bad destiny without being ushered into it according to plan. It may be said : is not the Sutta, in its repeated presentation (in two of the chief Collections) just a parable, an allegory? I should say, not; the Scriptures are careful when using parable to introduce it in a set idiom; I cannot recall any instance where this is omitted; the parable solution is to me very improbable.

To come to what, I repeat is not discussed; this is *whence*, when a man, leaving the earth-body, passed on to appear as purgatorial, peta, deva, *came the new body?* In every case, it has been shown as evident, that there was a new body, and that is all there is to say about it. Nor, apparently, were the founders asked concerning this so far as the records show. Ānanda is shown as very anxious to display his Leader's psychic communication in revealing, to all who appeared desirous to learn, the fate of their lost ones ; but he puts no question about the acquisition of the new body. The age was in such matters no more awake and interested than is our age.

In their case this was perhaps the more curious, because the teaching of another, a dual, body in earth-life, as the mate of the earth-body, was almost of necessity implicit in the current Brahman theory of the man's other-world activity during deep sleep. I refer to the well known passage in the Brihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. It was no discarnate 'spirit' who comes forth from the earth-body in sleep, released in some limited way from the tissues of the latter, but the man himself, encased in a 'finer' vehicle, who leaves 'the nest.' By this bright 'light-body' he 'looks down' at his sleeping other members and 'goes again to his (real) home, golden person, lonely bird,' has a pleasant time of sport and laughter and love, or sees fearsome things, learns things good and evil, and hastens back when the earth-body is beginning to wake, lest he leave that to die.

Of all this we read in the Piṭakas not one word. Yet the majority of the first Sakyan teachers were Brahmans. On the other hand, two things may be said. It is possible that the Upaniṣad cited, evidently the work of one or more gifted, progressive reforming teachers, may not have come to be finally edited and accepted as scriptural till long after the birth of Sakya. And the Pitakas too were not finally edited and accepted in a Canon till centuries after that birth of Sakya, when by the Sakyan Sangha a definitely anti-Brahman position had come to be taken up, especially in regard to the man. Any teaching that involved the theory of the man passing over from one body's world to another body's world would, if worded and memorised, *tend to be let drop out.* The theory of the subtle body persisted in India and became orthodox in Sāṅkhya; and it would have furnished the Sakyans with an explanation of all bodily. re-birth not by parents. But, I repeat, we must always remember, that in 'scriptures' we have, not records redacted at the time of the utterance of the events or ideas which are mentioned, but edited compilations belonging to, and bearing the stamp of a much later date. And thus we find on the one hand Brahman scriptures (wherein the belief in the reality and sublime nature of the man is upheld) with the man's activity in sleep, a second body being implicit, accepted as orthodox; on the other hand we find Buddhist scriptures (wherein the belief in the reality and sublime nature of the man has been greatly worsening) without a word on this, or other matters, which could only be brought forward with a rehabilitation of the older belief in the man. Both sleep and death are occasions for the theory of the man, as of a dual body, being proffered as explanation. And Buddhists (or Sakyans), coming to merge the man in his body and mind, were not likely to hold in worth a belief in man as the user of one body let alone two.

But what about the re-birth into a new mind? Is it a brand-new mind which they held was re-born? Was it ever held that the man had a dual mind?

When Sakya teaching took birth, it was not yet an accepted way to speak of mind as an entity distinct, either logically or actually from the man, The influence of Sāṅkhya, which was in fact a divorce of psychological from religio-philosophical standpoints, was only beginning to be felt. It was not yet held necessary to talk of re-birth in terms of mind, as well as of body and the man. Let me not be held to push this too far. Man under a certain aspect was mind *vijñāna.* This was as 'worth-er' and as 'worder.' And in so far as there was, at death, only a 'bheda' of the body, the man in every aspect was not held as also breaking up. The new emphasis which Sakya may be said to have laid on the man under this aspect was that, as minding, the man was presenting at any moment, not at death only, a perpetual change, a change made classic under the simile of the leaping ape. Were this aspect being taught now, we might expect an exploiting of the better similes ready to hand, such as electric force and apparatus. No man in replenishing the latter, when worn out, asks for a supply with it of new electricity. That is potentially ready all the time. All the man needs at dying is the new battery. He is the force; *his translation into it is mind.* Indeed this simile which I and doubtless others, first used some 18 years ago, I see already commending itself to Buddhists rather than the classic figure of their own little studied scriptures.

Another classic figure which is now neglected was that of the station or platform: *ṭhiti,* in or on which (the preposition would be the same) the man as worther, *viz., viññāṇa,* is in rebirth transferred or translated. The *ṭhiti* was at once new body and new world; a new vista in fact in the long way of man's life-faring; a new opportunity for further becoming for growth, I hold that this idea belongs to the very centre of the original Sakya, and the 'platform' figure is in harmony with it. It is accepted in the Suttas, nevertheless it must have been somewhat on a rock of stumbling, in that it tended to uphold the emphasis on the man as watcher or worther on the new platform. And indeed we meet with this idea of the progressive minding-man, or *viññāṇa,* being severely trounced in a lively Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikayā (No. 38). The belief in "that very *viññāṇa* runs on, fares on; not a different one" is condemned;

so also is the definition of *viññāṇa* as "this speaker, experiencer who now here, now there experiences the result of good and evil deeds." And we are told, that, so far from being a persistent entity, *viññāṇa* comes into being, lit. becomes, as a result of certain preceding conditions.

The trouncing is put into the mouth of the Founder, and for those who see in the monastic values of the Piṭakas the earlier values of the Sakyamuni and his comrades, it is a very useful discourse. I found it so myself in my salad days of Buddhist interpretative work. I do not wonder, that some pronoucement, corrective of the awkward earlier teaching of the man as persistent and as "growing" by way of a succession of "platforms" was felt to be needed by later monastic theorists.

The whole question of the birth and progress of the great idea of becoming in Indian ideas is of profound interest, and will one day meet with adequate treatment. We see the idea knocking as it were at the door of the strong-hold of being in the words of the progressive teachers of the Upaniṣads, declaring that the fundamental attribute of Deity was not being but "the desire to become." We see it both in their and Gotama's ‘figure of man's life in its entirety as a way connoting advance in a more, a further, a new. The idea of causation as a world-law, which was a-foot at about the same time, and which should have been brought under the greater generalization of becoming, proved for a certain and a critical period to have, in Sakya, a hindering effect on that generalization. It was taught (*a*) more under the guise of atomic change, and (*b*) less in connection with process. (*c*) By the *less* of process, I mean that in the monastic formula of causation in ‘ill,’[1] *only* the suppression of cause is stressed; *only* a process making to cease is enjoined. And (*a*) positive process, when applied not to ‘ill’ (*dukkha*) but to the man, is emphasized as, not growth, *i.e.* becoming, but atomic, momentary succession in difference. It is not in fact till the date of the Milinda Conversations, that the question of cause and effect *as process* is shown coming to the front, with new terms for the valuing of it.[1] But by then it was too late to save the greater generalization of becoming. We see it, both in the Milinda and in Hindu treatises, lingering on in India as the legacy of the original Sakya, but in the transference to Ceylon and final redactions of the Piṭakas there the ban of the monk on Becoming (*bhava*) became the authoritative mask, under which we have to try to recognise traces of the great New Word which had moved India for a while only centuries before.

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[1] *Paṭicca-Samuppāda*, or the '12 Nidanas.'

In the Piṭakas, reading between the lines, we can, I think, discern this older seeing of 'the man as *viññāṇa* getting resolved into a later seeing of '*viññāṇa* as the man,' and then seeing *viññaṇa* as just one factor among factors *making up the man.* The early Sakyan standpoint of seeing the man as *viññāṇa* is akin to the early Upaniṣadic teaching of, *e.g.*, the Aitareyya, and of *vijñānamayaṃ Brahmaṃ.* The later standpoint, probably largely due to Sāṅkhyan influence, was a seeing in man a changing complex, bodily and mental, with 'the man' ejected from *viññāṇa.* The older wording of the body breaking up at death became virtually a total dissolution, with a very ill-conceived re-becoming as a sort of resultant in the next world. There still remained the crux as to how, in decease, a power or influence could be conceived, in 'transeunce,' effecting the new man, who was yet in a way the heir of the old man.

We know ourselves, how cause used to be conceived as a transeunt influence. And mediaeval Hīnayāna also annexed, from Indian religion perhaps, the very word influence: *śakti,* and wrote of causal influence: *paccaya-satti. But that was much later.* Later, but not so much later, are the inadequate similes of flame lit from flame of mango from seed and the like, of the Milinda Questions, wherewith Buddhists still hope to

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[4] See my *Milinda Questions*, 1930.

satisfy learners. Later again, Buddhaghosa uses a simile for re-birth, which is no sooner said than nullified: the simile of a man swinging across a conduit by a rope tied to a tree. The man is *viññāṇa*, but, he goes on, "*viññāṇa* does not arrive here (rebirth) from a previous becoming; nor does it appear from thence without conditions, such as, karma, activities (*saṅkhārā*), bending-on-to (*nati*), sphere (*visaya*), etc."

It was a troublesome and mysterious question, and one which, had but the Sakyan Sāsana, in adoring its Founder, maintained that more consistent adoration, which was the keeping intact the teaching a great psychic like him could have given about re-birth, and possibly did give, the question might have been for it, neither troubling nor so mysterious. Western writers have suggested a solution for Buddhists, which these themselves have never in the past put forward as plausible and all-suffering. This is, that, for Buddhism, a man's collective actions, called '"karma'" (action), constitute a 'force' which takes effect at death in re-birth of a new man, yet of a man who, as having a karma x, and not y, is heir to x_a not to y_a.

We see above, that for Buddhaghosa, there were certain 'conditions' (*hetuṃ*) in action, and that karma was *but one in many*. But, possibly with the printing of the Pali books, a word here and there in them about man being 'heir' of his actions (karma) and the like, has suggested this solution, rather than the little known quotation from the later book, the Visuddhi Magga.

While the effective power of karma was more of a central doctrine for the Jains than it was for Sakya, there was certainly no trifling with the significance of it in the latter teaching. But, for Sakya, a man's karma came solely into account *at the adjudication subsequent to rebirth*: with the phenomenon of the rebirth itself karma had nothing to do. It is only a metaphysical playing about with ideas rather than with things, which could so trifle with results, that is, with things, as to fancy them gathered up into a sort of cumulative avalanche, automatically bringing to pass the new-born man. I admit, that decadent Buddhist dogmatics to a certain extent invite from us this interpretation of what they mean, when expressed in modern terms of 'force' and 'resultant.' But the aim of this article is to suggest not what *they* had come down to, but what the earlier editors of the Piṭakas (late as these are in relation to original Sakya) had in mind regarding rebirth. And for the Suttas, there was *not yet felt the need* to explain the Man of the Wayfaring in the worlds in terms of ill-fitting, inadequate material similes of milk and mangoes, echoes and lamp-lighting such as were found useful (in an age which believed in analogy as sound reasoning) by much later writers. For the Suttas the man, still held as real, was (by implication) willer, chooser, valuer, experiencer of deed and of result. Hence it was he who was responsible, and not the deed, the karma. Deeds once done have left the man; they are no longer he. In deeds is no valuer; no choosing agent. Hence in deeds is no responsibility. "By you, yea, even by you have these things been done, and by no one else" is the judge's verdict in the Suttas to man at the next world's bar.

But of that bar and that verdict the Milinda Questions and the age of Buddhaghosa have not a word to say. Between them they had slain the 'man'; gradually he was becoming, and then he had become, a mere complex. Bar and verdict were inconvenient and were dropped out. We could among us not possibly have suggested such a purblind solution as this of transeunt karma to the problem of the what and how of rebirth in Buddhism, had we not in the first place failed to consider Buddhism historically, had we not in the second place ourselves been getting as wilted in our concept of the man—or as we are now saying of personality—as Buddhism grew to be.

When we come to see history in Buddhism, a history of centuries, even already in these Pali scriptures, which three great pioneers have made, and helped to make accessible to the world in one half century—Fausböll, Oldenberg, Rhys Davids—

we shall then put forward fewer ill-digested theories. We shall no longer quote as of the Piṭakas, left alone as of the original Sakya, standpoints and emphases belonging to the later after-men. We shall have put on one side for separate treatment the ever more contracting view of the 'man' at which decadent monasticism arrived; of the man in the many worlds as momentary successions, of the man at death largely replaced by an animal, of the man as capable of a perfection on earth impossible in any ideal of a perfection adequately felt after. We shall have sought, underneath this upper crust, for the remnants of a great world-gospel, bringing a new message for the man of the more that is in him and awaiting him; a message that he, being by nature and ultimately one-who-is-becoming, calls as his birthright for not one world, not one life, or life-station, but for many worlds, for many stages and platforms in his wayfaring; a message which bade him in that wayfaring ripen and realize all that lies yet dormant in his nature; a message which bade him not shrink in any way from the vistas of 'Bhava's, in that *by way of them* he will in time come to conceive and to word, and ultimately to know That Whom now he worships as ineffable, inconceivable.[1]

C. A. F. Rhys Davids

Note.—This article is built on many passages in Pali scripture and other Pali books, references to which I have for the most part not cumbered my pages withal. But such a withholding may be exasperating to a student in this field, and I shall be glad to supply any applicant by post with any or all such references, and shall welcome the receipt of such applications.

Chipstead, Surrey, England.

MOTHER

Heart, my heart, what means this feeling?
Heart, why are you so lonely?
What makes the tears run down the cheek?
What strange feeling over me, stealing?
Heart, acknowledge me no more,
Farewell to the cause of your longing,
Farewell to all that gives you gladness.
Oh, why is it so lonely?
Oh, mother! To-day are you happy?
Mother, mother, my mother!
Where are you in this dusky moon light,
When all's asleep and silent?
Do you know—surely you remember—
That on the pier where I wept, you, too, wept.
On that pier are you wandering?
Where beyond the pier the moon is dancing,
While along the shore the plovers are crying?
I see you when, over the distant ridge, the moon sleeps.
I think of you whenever the moonlight gleams in the silvery brook.
I hear you, as yonder brook runs leisurely with murmurs deep.
I am near you, though far away.
You, too......are near!
'Tis Sunday, a holiday, mother!
Lunch, lunch is ready, mother!
Where shall we go—to the park? To the seashore?
...........Would you were here!

JINKICHI MATSUDA

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SCOTTISH ARCHITECTURE[1]

II

From the 17th century to the present day.

The 17th century was a sad epoch for Scotland, nevertheless, a remarkable period in her architecture. And the buildings involved are doubly interesting, because much less has been said of them, than about their predecessors, the great abbeys and cathedrals of the Middle Ages. The union of the Scottish and English Crowns in 1603, was far from bringing peace to Scotland ; for the immediate result of the event lay, in the endeavour to impose the Episcopal or English form of worship on the Scottish nation. Those people who resisted, and stood for the Presbyterian Church which John Knox had founded, were constrained to assemble for religious service in the open air. Those again, who remained faithful to the Catholic Church, were a tiny minority. And those others who accepted Episcopacy, did little in the raising of beautiful edifices, or in the repairing of the halls of prayer, which had been wrecked during the Reformation. Accordingly, the structures which make the 17th century memorable, are all or nearly all, either private homes, or public institutions whose purpose was not hieratic.

In the sixteen-hundreds, England had little or no influence on architecture in Scotland ; and her work in the art at that time, was a normal sequel to her output in previous cycles. If night and day are the standard symbols for complete dissimilarity, always it is quite impossible to point to the exact moment, when darkness gives place to illumination, so gradual is the change from the one to the other. And, in precise analogy, the art of the Middle Ages, and the art of the Renaissance, are two widely different things. But in each, or apparently each country in Europe, the departure of the Medieval work, and the triumph of the classic, occurred only by very slow degrees. If the Scottish Baronial mode, with its close relationship to French Domestic Gothic, is essentially a thing of the Middle Ages, it remained in vogue long after the time, commonly implied by that term. This Medieval manner was the customary one for large country-houses in Scotland, through at least a great part of the 17th century. It was beautifully employed; it became still more distinctive or national than it had been previously; and there may be mentioned as works in the formula which were raised then, Peffermill, Gogar House, Stenhopemill and Lickleyhead. Moreover, the sixteen-hundreds saw little or no change, in the matter of constructing in towns, those houses which were joined together. Such edifices were still created in a fashion, closely akin with Scottish Baronial so that cities retained even yet, the Medieval guise.

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[1] For the first portion of this article see '*TheCalcutta Review.*' Nov. & Dec., 1929.

In the 17th century, Renaissance additions were occasionally bestowed on ancient Castellated domains. And ever and again in that era, there were fashioned new buildings, which may be defined as dual or transitional. They were independent, or free-standing places, and while displaying on the one hand, characteristics of Scottish Baronial, they embodied on the other hand, features of the incoming Renaissance or Classic style. For example, Heriot's Hospital has the turrets of the old manner, yet the open pediments of the new. Other instances of the transitional mode are the houses called Moray, Wintoun and Innes, also Argyll's Lodging. And if a high beauty was attained, in certain of the fabrics with the curious mingling in question, they are hardly less distinctive than the gems of work, purely in Scottish Baronial.

One of the very few hieratic structures, built in the 17th century, was the Canongate Parish Church, Edinburgh. This fine, anonymous work, which dates from the close of the period is exclusively in the Renaissance style. And at that same time, another place thus definable was created, the Town Hall, Linlithgow. It is ascribed to John Mylne, in whose day was active, Sir William Bruce, who designed at least one house in the dual or transitional manner, Balcaskie. But he also devised a mansion, which is in the revived antique mode alone, Hopetoun, finished early in the seventeen-hundreds. And this big dwelling is usually pointed to, as marking the complete victory of the form, derived from Ancient Greece and Imperial Rome. With the completion of Hopetoun, Scottish Baronial passed wholly from use for country seats ; in the first half of the 18th century, many places of that class were raised ; and they are purely in classic. These fabrics are mostly of a sturdy build, and they are somewhat simple. Smith and MacGill, James Gibbs and Colin Campbell, were outstanding Classicists of the time, and no less eminent than they was William Adam. Although manorial homes were duly his main preoccupation, he built the Parish Church at Hamilton, one of the finest Renaissance buildings in all Scotland. And he stimulated the new fondness in the country for classicism, by his splendid publication, *Vitruvius Scoticus*. This contains upwards of a hundred engravings, and with a very few exceptions, they are from drawings by William Adam himself. The book appeared in parts, and some were not issued till subsequent to the great architect's death, which occurred in 1748.

The later decades of the 18th century, and the opening of the 19th were a signal epoch in Scottish architecture, the fine buildings being in every case, classic. Up till the former time, there had been little or no evolution in the handling of joined houses in towns ; and as the seventeen-hundreds drew to a close, Edinburgh presented yet the aspect of a Medieval city. But she started to become now a world-famous literary centre, and the increase in her wealth, as also in the number of her denizens, resulted in big schemes for new residences. There is exactly one Scottish architect, whose name is familiar in practically all countries, Robert Adam, second son of William aforesaid, and Robert struck new notes in his art. His actual buildings, and his affixed adornments within them, have an elegance and a slimness which contrast sharply with the sturdy way of the previous Scottish Classicists. He was the earliest person in the British Isles, if not in the whole of Europe, to devise a number of joined houses, so as to give them the aspect of a single, palatial façade; and his finest achievement in that line was Charlotte Square, Edinburgh. But people are amusingly prone to credit him with a far bigger number of places than he really accomplished ; and the hard truth is that he was vastly influential. The Renaissance architects in Scotland in his day, mostly shared his predilection for the graceful and the slender ; numerous of these men designed houses and interiors, in a manner closely resembling his ; and the countless things which are praised in popular writings, as lovely examples of Adam plasterwork or mantelpieces, are in few cases veritably by Robert. If much fine art of his period was wrought anonymously, there are three men of the era whose designations are well remembered, Nasmyth, Chambers and Reid. A gem by the first-named is the Rotunda, St. Bernard's Well, Edinburgh; and exquisite things by Chambers are the Royal Bank in that town, and the gateway of Duddingston House, not far off. Reid was much concerned with the laying out of the new, residential streets in the Scottish Capital; and in some of them he espoused the unity system, which Robert Adam had introduced with Charlotte Square, if the former did nothing quite so beautiful as that work, he nevertheless employed the mode at issue skilfully, in Heriot Row and Drummond Place. And he built in the same city; one of the very finest of her classic fabrics, St. George's Parish Church, completed in 1814.

It was largely the way in Europe, as the 18th Century passed into the 19th to exalt classicism as the sole, right path in architecture, and to view as barbaric the Gothic mode. Among the laurels of Robert Adam is that, although the Renaissance work was the thing to which he devoted his life, and with which he linked his name in the mind of the world, he designed on the eve of his death a little church, in the despised pointed manner. This action by him would seem to have been the herald of a remarkable revival of Medievalism which occurred in Scotland before the eighteen hundreds were far advanced. Nor can it be doubted, that the historical stories of Sir Walter Scott, kindling as they did a fresh interest in the Middle ages, were an important factor in inspiring architects to turn back to the ways of that far-off time. About 1820, Archibald Elliot was asked to build the Calton Gaol, Edinburgh ; and Reid already mentioned, was requested, to plan a new edifice for St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. Choosing the castellated fashion, Elliot wrought a masterpiece, while Reid created a lovely work in Scottish Baronial. Presently, this manner found an ardent champion in David Bryce, who built a great number of mansions in the old, distinctive formula of Scotland. He also utilised it for large, public buildings in cities, and soon the style was being widely employed by other men, notably for fair-sized houses in towns or in their vicinity. Following Adam's lead Elliot devised a Gothic church. And if in the seventeen hundreds, only a very few places of worship had been raised, the next cycle witnessed the construction of a host of such for various sects, many of these new structures being in the pointed mode. The Revolution in 1689 had ended the endeavour to impose Episcopacy on the Scottish nation, and the votaries of Presbyterianism thereafter styled themselves the Church of Scotland, or Established Church. They became possessed of the ancient abbeys and cathedrals, and it is to the credit of the body that, in the course of the 19th century they rehabilitated most of those grand, old fanes.

There would be grave error in supposing, that the revival of Medievalism banished favour towards Classic or Renaissance work in many if not all countries, Edinburgh is frequently spoken of as the Modern Athens ; and the man who gained for the town that proud title was Sir William Playfair, active towards the middle of the eighteen hundreds. The College of Surgeons, and the National Gallery of Scotland, are perhaps the two finest of his Classic works in the city, and he had two main distinctions. Caring not for the elegance and slimness, which had marked Renaissance Architecture in Scotland, in the day of Robert Adam and his disciples, Playfair upheld massiveness of build; and he copied almost literally, renowned Greek edifices. In these two predilections, the master was typical of most of the other Scottish Classicists, at work about 1840, among the ablest of which men were Stark and Thomson, David Hamilton and Thomas Hamilton. If it was by certain independent fabrics, that each of these men gained his celebrity, James Gillespie-Graham was concerned, with laying out in Edinburgh, new residential streets in Renaissance style. Known as the Moray Estate, the part of the town planned by him is widely famous; and the architect uttered here, his devotion to the massive on sturdy fashion. But a memorable revolt against this last, as likewise against literal copying of Greek places, occurred the least thing after the meridian of the 19th century. There now came to prominence talented men who, turning back to the graceful and the tolerably slim, found their model in the Renaissance palaces of the Italian school, especially the Venetian. David Rhind and Dick-Peddie were notable participants in this little movement; while another was David Bryce, who has been spoken of as a champion of Scottish Baronial. And among his finest things, in the new class of Renaissance art, are the Bank of Scotland and the British Linen Bank, both in Edinburgh.

Walking to-day in any town or village in Scotland, it is often felt very difficult to believe, that fine architecture ever existed in Scotland. Industrialism has slain the beautiful; Mammon reigns; communism has failed lugubriously to give presentable dwellings to the million. In actuality, however, there is no lack of good work, in the raising of houses or cottages, places of business or halls of devotion. Fair exploits may be discovered in each of these spheres, by those people who search long and assiduously, amid the jungle of terrible fabrics. Whereas in 1829, it was illegal in Scotland to be a member of the Catholic Church, that year saw the emancipation of this body, which, long ages before, had been the prime inspiration of lovely buildings. And of fine things raised about the dawn of the 20th century, some of the best are Catholic places of worship. These may well be named as examples, St. Peter's Church, Edinburgh, by Sir Robert Lorimer, which is in Romanesque ; and the Church of Our Lady of Loretto, Russelburgh, by Archibald MacPherson, which is in Gothic. Both these men died a little while ago, and both will be long remembered, so exquisite was the art which either of them accomplished. Must it be acknowledged reluctantly, that henceforth rare buildings will be merely incidental in Scotland ? Or will there occur a movement, repelling the current degradation?

W. G. Blaikie Murdoch

CULTURE—ITS IMPORT AND VALUE[1]

For one who has no research to his credit, it must really be a very bad venture to appear in the role of a writer in the Research Society's annual conference. The thought weighed with me, and the brief acquaintance I had, of the aims and objects of the Society confirmed me in my fears. The Society, we know, stands to encourage research. And we welcome it all the more, inasmuch as it aims to strike a blow at what appears to be the most foul thing in our intellectual life, *viz.*, its sluggishness. Those among us who, in response to the vital needs of the hour, are sworn to shake off this age-old slough of slumbering credulity, are to be acclaimed as the renovators of our modern intellectual life. But barring out these few landmarks of intellectuals, the rest of us, having no aptitude for research, can do nothing else on such occasions than to sit at the side-lines and listen to the wondrous tales which our research workers would be pleased to unroll before us out of the vast storehouse of facts unearthed by years of patient and diligent research.

The learned secretary of the society, however did not seem to be very much in favour of this view. His invitation to the wider section of the general public, asking them to take active part in the deliberations of the conference, was an indication that the conference would not trade in research wares only. Rather the very tone of the invitation letter was suggestive of a new light in which the conference would meet. It showed that at least once a year,—during the days of the conference—the army of research workers would cease fighting one another over the spoils of research,—for these few days they would lay down their arms and instead of bewildering the hearts of lay people with jarring notes of discord, would meet and talk to each other as plain men of the world. Forgetting, for the hour, the insular isolation of a scholar's life, and alike forgetting the heaviness of details of their painstaking research, they would come and join the men of the world in their simple ways of talking and thinking.

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[1] Read before the Varendra Research Society, Annual Conference, 1929.

This is the spirit that assures us to come and join this conference. And if we keep this point of view in our minds,—if everybody present here will keep aside all the technicalities of his trade, and so behave that the highest treasures of which he is in possession would be made available for the benefit of all alike, we should find the Research Society transformed for a while into a centre of culture. For culture, to quote a French authority, consists essentially in what remains after one has forgotten the details of his learning.

But are we sure as to what is meant by culture? Is it correct to say, as we have suggested above, that culture means a sort of refined residuum that stands behind when everything else fades away? There is no doubt that the question is quite a pertinent one.

There is another reason why an enquiry into the meaning of culture is particularly called for at this hour. Our society is pledged to encourage research into the past history of our country, and in this past history we include all manner of facts and incidents, arts and industries,—in fact, everything that in any way contributed to our ancient culture. The discovery and selection of these relics must necessarily involve the problem of valuation. Without a proper solution of this problem the research worker may be drawn into the unhealthy game of a limitless accumulation of details. Evidently no historian is blind enough to beguile himself with the hope that his researches into the hours of breakfast of the courtiers of Chandragupta will win him a place of honour among the celebrities of the day. The problem of evaluation, however, leads to the consideration of the ideals,—the standard of excellence that appealed to our forefathers and transformed their simple humdrum life into a fine specimen of culture. It is meet therefore that we settle among ourselves, at the outset, what is meant by culture and its value, before we embark upon the perilous voyage of discovery into the ancient glories of our country.

In a sense, we are all very confident in our estimate of men and their character. Each of us carries in his mind a rough and ready formula to tell him what people are cultured and what people are not. But the moment he stops and goes on reflecting into the grounds of decision, he begins to fumble. In fact, the term culture seems to be one of those jesting puzzles on which many have exercised their wits but none have come out wholly successful. Nevertheless this very consciousness of limitation, that even our most subtle analysis fails to embrace the whole of reality—if we be fortunate enough to keep alive to it,—would contain the germ of culture. And so we find ourselves confronted with two conflicting positions. Culture consists in forgetting, as well as in remembering. We are to forget all our achievements and triumphs,—all the excellences that we have won ; at the same time, we should bear in mind that with all our assets and embellishments, the best still remains to be realised.

The sense of exaltation with which we celebrate the hour of victory not infrequently settles down into a fairly permanent cast of character. The consciousness of superiority steals into our mind, and imperceptibly leads us into thinking that the common herd of mankind possess very little in common with ourselves. Encased in our own meshes of pride and conceit we lose contact with that wider whole of humanity on whose experience and wisdom we counted so much in the hour of trial. Culture tends to counteract this rising tide of arrogance, and by its gentle touch soon subdues that excitement of self-glorification which divides man from man. A man of culture is always overtaken by the sense of "the unattained and the unattainable," and so behaves that even in his most signal triumphs he will not raise the least little suspicion that the chords or affinity which bind him to the rest of humanity are in danger of being snapped away.

Forgetting and remembering are then the two poles of the axis on which the life of culture revolves. But this does not lead us into the heart of the thing. Culture would be quite a poor thing if it were to rest content with a dead residuum alone. The art of disposing such a residuum goes a great way; still unless it were to germinate into new shoots,—finer and livelier modes of thought and action, there is no culture.

" The point is, culture is a thing of life. It signifies an active habit of living and doing." Where the process of petrifaction has set in, culture loses itself into an extreme form of bigotry and narrowness. Perhaps we understand it better if we bring it, as Erskine does, in line with cultivation. What the cultivator does want is not merely tilling or manuring the soil. His eye is ever on the harvest. He cultivates the field so that he may get something out of it. Yet this something will bring him no satisfaction if it were to mean the return of the same old seeds sown in the field. The harvest is so pleasing to the farmer because it shows an abundance of life, growing in full vigour and freshness out of the dying remnants of the old stock. The farmer counts not the cost that he scatters away so many fine grains into the ground, which he will soon see changed into a muddy loam. There is a touch of heroism in him when he engages in sowing. But his real credit lies not in sowing, but in reaping a harvest, more plenteous and invigorating,—the prelude of a new life of higher happiness and greater health.

Nobility has to its credit a splendid heritage, but its culture forbids that it should make a parade of it. The mere up-start, on the contrary, lacking the richness of a noble past, is full of toils to build up an accumulation of treasures, out of nervous fear lest his poverty of stock be exposed. The up-start knows not that the very effort to conceal the hollowness of his descent by profuse decorations of his own acquisitions does but consign him to the rank of the barbaric. The aristocrat, in his turn, living indolently upon his ancient glories and caring not to enhance their value, presents a pleasing appearance no doubt, because in his simple style of quiet dignity there is hardly anything to cause offence. But the absence of that touch of heroism, that spirit of sacrifice, characteristic of the life stirred up by the impulses of new creations, makes it a sickening sight. In fact, the pure aristocrat, dreaming upon old past, and bent upon an easy life of refinement of manners alone, often degenerates into wanton effeminacy; while the upstart, in his inordinate zeal to augment the treasures of life, becomes outrageously audacious.

In the history of races, there are records of people whose claims to eminence primarily rest upon the rich heritage which they have acquired from their forefathers. Intoxicated by the thought of the noble achievements of their ancestors, they lose the incentive to progressive expanssion of life. Knowing not through what patience and postponement, trials and struggles, their forebears came by these goods of life, they are hardly in a position to appraise them at their proper worth. What happens is that they hasten to attribute to them a sort of suprahistoric origin, to improve upon which is beyond the hope of ordinary mortals, or they will, as a cover for their own incompetence, assume an air of contemptuous indifference to these acquisitions and treat them as if they were the sole concerns of heathens and pagans, and not of the truly spiritually minded class. In both cases we witness the same phenomenon, *viz.*, an exaggerated vanity tending to smother down the instinctive fire of enthusiasm for new creations. Both are equally condemned. For neither of them can participate in the free life of culture.

On the other side, there are peoples who, in youthful exuberance of their energy aspire to remodel the earth anew. For them everything lies in the future, the past has no value. Faithful adherence to age-long institutions and practices has made a decrepit of man, and transformed him into a dwarf.

In this attitude of resentful revolt against the past, they set about in the work of reconstruction, or remaking of man in new splendour and glory. What wonder then, that these people should shine among others as the most prolific in their output of arts and industries. We are thankful to them for all they have said and done, but to credit them with culture we cannot. The reason is obvious. Absorbed in the passion of new creations they have not developed the subtle sense of gratitude for what they owe to the preceding ages. Genuine culture comes in the wake of the effort of creation, involving the active functioning of the talents wherewith a man happens to be endowed by nature. To every man the appropriate question is: what use has he made of his talents; what amount of contributions has he put in to the stock of world's wisdom and values? There are men in academic circles who would astonish the by-stander by the vastness of their learning, often embodying the contents of a large library; but what a poor specimen they furnish, so long as they do not succeed in turning their erudition to higher purposes of life. Without art there is no indication of culture. But it is a onesided statement that makes culture identical with art.

Art springs from a sense of profound discontent with all that the present stands for. Those that are ready with a cheap satisfaction with the hitherto achieved goods of life, and question not whether they are goods at all, are not likely to engage in artistic creations. It is extremely doubtful if they are at all alive in spirit.

Spiritual awakening is born in dissatisfaction—that 'noble discontent' of which sages have sung so eloquently. Discontent breeds doubt and distrust. The present-day realities, inspite of all the weight of authority which the rolling ages of time conferred on them, are viewed with suspicion. They are all laid bare and the hallowed glory which surrounded them so long is cast to the winds. Out of this attitude of distrust the enquiring soul feels within himself slowly emerging the promptings of new creations. Working upon the strewn wreckages of the past the artist hopes to draw up fresh lineaments of beauty and truth. To others as well as to himself the artist is a source of enjoyment ; but inwardly he may be plagued with the unholy passion of disowning the past. Culture demands that while we are discarding the past in the hope of building something new, we are not seized with irreverence for the past.

The cultured mind has to pass through a severe ordeal. He has to pull down, to anatomise and dissect even those splendid productions to which mankind, for generations together, have been deeply attached by sentiments of love and veneration. But at the same time he must make sure that the glamour of his own achievements does not rob him of his inner poise and serenity. If that love and admiration with which he hopes to revitalise his own creations are not extended to the works of others, all his struggles and triumphs are lost in waste deserts. Without a touch of reverence for what the hoary ages of antiquity have built for man, there is no culture.

Reverence is a subtle virtue. It is difficult to say precisely at what point one develops the reverential mood. The usual supposition is that the questioning and critical temper is not congenial to the growth of reverence. It thrives well where faith and obedience reign supreme. If readiness to ' accept and obey' be the prevailing characteristics of the conservatives, the opposite temperament should mark out the liberals. This is why conservatism has all along been regarded as the bulwark of faith and reverence, while liberalism has been almost a synonym for irreverence. To all intents and purposes, a liberal means one who, with his ready adaptability, moves along the currents of change showing scant respect for the traditional order of things; whereas a conservative implies one whose regard for the past is so intense that he would hold fast to it with unflagging devotion. Does culture then belong to the conservatives alone and should this be denied to the liberals? What a strange irony of fate!

The thing is, the conservatives, held up by the bogey of reverence, adhere to the study of history in the hope of getting a glimpse of the golden age which is never to return. Having nothing better to look for, they fondly wish for those days of glory to reappear in their midst. To dream upon the past becomes a passion with them. The fancies and fashions of the people of bygone days, their style and habits of life must be rescued from oblivion and fitted in the present-day surroundings. And so when we pray we must not, if we are conservatives, use the language of our daily speech, but chaunt the same old hymns of our Vedic ancestors in imitation of their accents and intonations.

The temper of liberalism cannot but laugh at the excesses of the conservatives. If the sentiments of reverence were to sit upon us like a dead weight and bring us down to the level of the dead, what does it avail to cherish such reverence ? What use is there in studying history in a spirit of love and admiration, if it were to turn us into dry fossils of a bygone age ? Let us rather study it, so the liberals think, in a purely secular, pragmatic spirit. Let the study of history teach us that what is once past is past for ever. A full-grown man must not commit the blunder of dressing himself in the tattered garments of a squalling baby in the cradle. This is how the reforming zeal of the liberal appears on the scene.

But the liberals forget that to drift along the everflowing course of time leads us to no better prospects either. They have to learn yet that to look back upon the masterpieces of antiquity is not to grow archaic but to draw never-failing nourishment in the stormy struggles of life.

It is obvious that true reverence, the soul of culture, is possessed neither by the conservatives, nor by the liberals. The mistake of the conservatives lies in thinking that reverence for the past must necessarily involve being buried in the past, as if reverence were a sort of hidden treasure that had chosen its habitat among the things of antiquity. Such a zeal, to speak the truth, is the mockery of reverence masquerading in the name of reverence.

True reverence is a function of the spirit. It abides neither in the things of the past nor in the things of the future. To live by hope in the future is as much a sign of irreverence and weakness as to live on the memory of the past. If the former develops into a voluptuous type, the latter surely stagnates into the mould of a coward. None of them shows the true stature of a full-grown free man who alone knows what it is to be reverential.

Without spiritual awakening it is vain to look for reverence breaking into flame. By spiritual awakening, however, is meant nothing more than the eagerness to participate in the free life of the spirit. The beauty of the spiritual life lies in its strength and freedom,—that strength which lifts it above the passing fancies of the hour, that freedom which emboldens it to break away from the fetters of the ages. Yet it is not in breaking that its strength lies. Freedom to break is glorifying, because there is freedom to bow down as well. In this free play of breaking and bowing the virtue of reverence grows triumphant.

Freedom expresses the life of culture ; and it is this that makes it so very valuable. When we proudly proclaim that the race of our ancestors had a culture of their own let us be honest as to what that implies. They had their arts and industries, they had their poetry and literature. All this is true enough. But let us not be a dupe of superficialities. The busy historian loses no time to set up a cabinet of antiquities, and he may have a secret sense of gratification that his work will tell him what their culture was. But he should know that these things merely float on the surface. Culture is not a thing of the surface, but of the inward spirit. To pile up bricks does not give us a temple unless the shekinah is there. What made our ancestors a cultured people was their freedom. It was not the freedom to wield a sword as they liked, but it was the freedom of the spirit,—the freedom of personality that staked much, suffered much, and yet in joyful resignation engaged in bringing out those masterpieces of antiquity that have ennobled and sanctified humanity. If we can but reciprocate that freedom of the soul that inspired our ancestors we may yet have a hope to gain some insight into their culture. To secure this end an hour of devotional study and contemplation of their outstanding creations will be of more substantial help than years of laborious research.

JITENDRA KUMAR CHAKRAVORTY

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Punjab.

The first acquisition of territory, which now forms part of the Punjab, resulted from the Mahratta treaty of 1803 but it remained attached, in some form or other, to the Government of the North Western Provinces. And we have already had occasion to refer to the annexation, after the first Sikh War, of the cis-Sutlej districts with the Jullundur Doab and how they were quickly encompassed by the extension of the North Western Provinces customs frontiers. The Punjab, to the north-west of the Bias river, was still left to be administered by the Sikhs themselves. But it was the British Resident who did really become the ruler of the province.

At his inspiration there was set in operation a scheme of fiscal reform based on some clear-cut principles.[1] To mention the two most important of them—one was that "while foreign and import trade was a fair object of taxation," "internal trade" was to be "set free," and the other that "the produce of the country should be allowed to be sold in the country without an imposition of duties."

During the Sikh administration commodities, of which salt was of course one, were largely taxed in the form of customs, excise, transit or town duties so that customs lines had to be maintained not only on the frontiers but all over the country. In 1847 in accordance with the principles enunciated above, the duties on more than half of the articles, chiefly on home-made goods for local consumption, were repealed; the duties on some others were reduced. The transit and town duties were abolished altogether and with their abolition the inland tariff lines were removed with considerable relief to commerce and not altogether negligible economy to the state. There were only three frontier lines to prevent goods coming from three different directions, from the east, from the west and from Kashmir and Jammu. For the sake of accuracy, it must also be said that Multan was at the time outside the said arrangements since the district under its Governor was, according to a pledge, allowed to occupy a semi-independent position.

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[1] Report on the Administration of the Punjab for the years 1849-50 and 1850-51.

Due to the repeal and reduction of the duties the exchequer had to forego a revenue of more than six lakhs of rupees. It was necessary to recoup the loss. Among different measures adopted for the purpose, one was the reform of the salt revenue.

The salt supply of the country came almost wholly from the great Salt Range. At a trifling cost, the salt could be extracted almost in a pure state. But the management of the salt revenue under the Sikhs was not organized on a proper basis There was no fixed scale of duties.

The cis-Indus mines were let out to individuals, who, so long as they paid the amount contracted for, were allowed every freedom to conduct the business in their own way. The revenue amounted to something like four lakhs of rupees. Gradually, considerable laxity had crept into the system. The revenue, due from the contractors, was allowed to fall into large arrears while the contractors themselves were in a similar position in respect to the salt merchants. And towards the end of the administration special privileges and exemptions, such as the right of vending salt free of duty were frequently granted to court favourites and religious characters. The amount of duty-free salt, which thus found its way into the market, had a tendency to keep down prices and benefit the consumers, though it was harmful from the point of view of state revenue.

With regard to the trans-Indus mines, which were in possession of unruly mountaineers, a very lenient policy had to be pursued. A regular collection of revenue among the fierce mountaineers, was beyond the range of practical politics. It was equally impossible to farm the revenue for nobody from the other side of the Indus would venture out there. The trans-Indus mines were therefore left in the hands of some local chieftains who used to pay a small annual tribute. But the salt, when in transit, had to pay down duties at Peshawar and some other cities.

It was clear that a thorough overhauling of the "old, wasteful and uncertain system" at the cis-Indus mines was needed. But the Government was not yet prepared to undertake the responsibility of taking over the direct charge of managing the revenue. The actual management was still allowed to remain in the hands of a private contractor who had to bear his own costs. He was put under obligation to contribute to the state an annual sum of six lakhs of rupees, which was two lakhs in excess of previously obtained revenue. The Government however prescribed at the same time a fixed and uniform price of Rs. 2- per Punjabi maund to be realized without any discrimination from all merchants purchasing salt at the cis-Indus mines. Steps were also taken to ensure punctuality of payment. So far as the trans-Indus mines were concerned, it was yet considered impolitic to interfere with the existing arrangement.

The immediate effect of the above revision was to inflict considerable hardships on the trans-Sutlej area. Formerly a part of the Sikh kingdom had since 1846 passed into British possessions. Dependent on the Punjab mines for its supply of salt, it had now to pay, on every maund of salt that it consumed, the double tax of the Sikh excise levy at the mines and of the British impost of an almost equal amount at its frontier. Salt became "extravagantly dear" in that area and the sufferings of the poor knew no bounds.

The Second Sikh War broke out in 1848 and the Punjab was brought under direct British administration in March, 1849. A further reform of the revenue system was then undertaken. The motley duties still levied under a score of different heads (comprising import and export duties, excise duties, seigniorage, etc.) were swept away. Only three survived, the ferry tolls, the spirit excise and the salt excise, though a fourth, the stamp duty was added to the list.

The above change rendered the three customs lines needless and they were consequently dispensed with. The inclusion of the Punjab into the British territory led to the removal of the North Western Provinces customs line too. But a new line was extended, in agreement with the Government of the North Western Provinces, along the eastern bank of the Sutlej. It was designed to guard against the importation of Sind salt into the cis-Indus plains and of Rajputana salt in that direction into the Punjab and the North Western Provinces.

The system of letting the cis-Indus mines by contract was discarded and the Government itself took over the management of the mines. The duty was changed from Rs. 2 on the Punjabi maund to exactly the same rate on the Company's maund. It meant an increase of the weight of the tax by eighteen per cent. Once the duty was paid, the Punjab salt was free to move anywhere within the British territory. Only, in the interest of Bengal revenue it was subjected at the Allahabad special line to an additional differential duty of eight annas per maund.

Manufacture of alimentary salt on the part of private inividuals was made illegal in the cis-Indus area. The penal provisions of the previously mentioned Act XIV of 1843, with necessary modifications to suit the special conditions of the province, were adopted for the purpose of suppressing illicit manufacture and smuggling.

From the very first year the Punjab salt tax brought for the Government a steadily expanding revenue. From four lakhs of rupees under the Sikh administration and six lakhs under the Regency, the revenue progressively increased from year to year with only one break in 1851-52. And in 1853-54 the net revenue stood at nearly six lakhs and a half. The increase was due more especially to larger exportation than to increased local consumption.

As regards the trans-Indus mines, the Government still preferred to pursue a policy of extreme caution. It did not venture to impose more than a light duty of two annas at one mine and four annas at others. To prevent the salt excavated from the more lightly taxed mine, from passing beyond local limits a strong military force was always stationed there.

Even the slight intrusion into the trans-Indus area was tried to be attenuated by a provision for the grant of perquisites to the local chieftains in order that the hill chiefs might not be alienated from allegiance to their new sovereign. The net salt revenue from the area was estimated, on an average, to be Rs. 60,000.

With a very light tax, no prohibition of manufacture in certain areas, and no restriction on consumption of salt other than Government salt, the trans-Indus region stood apart and the province from our point of view, was really bifurcated into two rigidly separated compartments. In 1851 steps had to be taken by the Government to stop the lightly taxed salt of the trans-Indus area from being smuggled across the river.

PARIMAL RAY

(To be continued)

THREE PAPERS ON CHAUCER

I

FROM CHAUCERS' LYRICAL POEMS AND FROM THE POSSIBLE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL PASSAGES IN THE BOOK OF THE DUCHESS, HOUS OF FAME, PARLEMENT OF FOULES, AND PROLOGUE OF THE LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN, WHAT DOES ONE GATHER CONCERNING CHAUCER, THE MAN ?

From Chaucer's lyrical poems, one is not able to gather a great deal concerning Chaucer, the man. *The Compleynte unto Pite* belongs to the large class of pieces in which the poet-lover laments the rigor of his lady. The poet is unfortunate in his love. The lady does not look with favor on his suit although he is true and constant. This lady possesses all the good qualities of the perfect being.

> "Bountee parfit, wel-armed and richely,
> And fresshe Beautee, Lust and Jolitee,
> Assured Maner, Youthe and Honestee,
> Wisdom, Estaat, and Dreed, and Governaunce,
> Confedred bothe by bonde and alliaunce."

Pity, which has not been spent on the unhappy lover is one of her attributes. The poet, driven by pain of love, composes a bill of complaint against Cruelty, which he intends to present to Pity, the "Coroune of vertues alle!"

The story of *The Compleynte unto Pite* might serve equally well for *A Compleynte to His Lady* for the situation is the same. Both belong to the class of poems in which the lover laments his hard fate in love, caused by the coldness of his lady. The more he loves her, the more she makes him "smerte," wherefore, he sees that he may in no wise escape death. He determines, however, to serve his lady until death relieves him. This piece seems to be practically devoid of any mark of the poet's personality—either of that tone of sincerity which is felt in his best lyrics, or of that humor which he often uses in so charming a manner in his later work.

The Compleynte of Venus is, in a certain sense, a continuation of *The Compleynte of Mars.* There is nothing to be found here, however, concerning Chaucer, the man. In the *Compleynte d'Amours* there is the lofty position of the lady—her power over the lover's life and death ; her disdain of his passion ; his feeling of unworthiness ; his protestation of service until death ; his unwillingness to blame the lady for his woes ; the conceit that the eyes are the lover's enemies ; the idea of sending a complaint to the cruel one on St. Valentine's Day,—all were the stock ideas of mediaeval love poetry.

The *Balade of Compleynte* has a ring of sincerity which impresses one. This poem produces an impression of genuine feeling. *Womanly Noblesse,* like the *Balade of Compleynte* shows genuine feeling. *Womanly Noblesse* shows the ability of the poet to stamp his own personality on his work. The delight with which the lover exalts his lady's worth by addressing her in the envoy in four different complimentary phrases, as well as in the simple humility with which he recommends himself, has a great deal of charm.

Some of these poems have been taken to furnish evidence of a hopeless love-affair of Chaucer's, but there is nothing certain about this. It was the custom for poets of Chaucer's period to write in the first person and to complain of the misfortunes of love. In *The Parlement of Foules,* one can see Chaucer's love for nature, his vivacity and his humor. This poem is a pure creation of Chaucer's own and is, to a certain extent, penetrated with the atmosphere of the books with which the poet was familiar. There are not only discreet references made to them, but numerous passages show the traces of remote suggestion. *The Hous of Fame* shows a bold and free invention and some great poetical conceiving. This poem belongs to a mind that has meditated upon the world. In none of his other poems has Chaucer displayed more knowledge. The Arabic system of numbers, then lately introduced into Europe, the explosion of gun-powder, and the theory of sound can all be mentioned as examples of the topics with which he was familiar. *The Hous of Fame* is really introspective for in it Chaucer reviews his life and his aims. Chaucer was not happy in his love affair, and it may be for that reason that the walls of the temple of Venus are gloomy with the story of Aeneas and Dido's martyrdom.

In *The Dethe of Blaunche the Duchess* one learns a little about Chaucer. In this poem he complains of sleeplessness, which is caused, he thinks, by a malady from which he has suffered for eight years, and which only one physician can remedy. To "drive the night away" he takes a book. This book is probably Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Chaucer, no doubt, reads the tale of Ceyx and Halcyone. He has no sooner finished reading this tale when he falls asleep and has a most unusual dream. It is in the month of May and his chamber is filled with the sweet music of birds. Walls and windows are all painted over with the Story of Troy, and the Romance of the Rose. When the poet awakens he finds that he still has in hand the book of *Alcyone and Seys the Kynge*, and he resolves to put the dream in rhyme.

The *Prologue* seems to be the most interesting part of *The Legende of Good Women.* Here one finds a change in the condition of the poet. Now he spends the whole day among the singing birds and worships the "Emperice and floure of floures all," the daisy. In the evening he hurries home and lies down to rest in a small arbor so that he may see the flower open, and, with this thought paramount, he falls asleep. Soon he dreams and the God of Love appears before him. He is leading by the hand a queen who looks like a daisy:

> "And she was clad in real habite grene;
> A fret of gold she hadde next her heer,
> And upon that a white crowne she beer,
> With flourouns smale; and I shal nat lye,

For al the world ryght as a daysye
Y-corouned is with white leves lyte,
So were the flourouns of hire coroune white:
For of o perle, fyne, oriental,
Hire white coroune was i-maked al,
For which the white coroune above the grene
Made hire lyke a daysie for to sene."

The stage name of this beautiful lady is Alcestis, but "Goode Queen Alceste" is only the symbol of another queen to whom Chaucer is to deliver his book, when finished, at " Eltham or at Sheene." It is clear that the Alcestis of the *Prologue* represents Richard's Queen Anne, whose favorite flower may have been the daisy, as it was the poet's. The influence of Alcestis over the God of Love, and the way she makes this influence felt, refer to the commanding position which Queen Anne occupied.

In *The Dethe of Blaunche the Duchess* Chaucer had a double task: he had to celebrate the excellencies of Blaunche and to depict the sorrows of her mourning lord. With these was a third essential of a purely personal kind ; the nature of the poem itself must be such as to conform or to anticipate the intimacy beginning, or desired by the poet, between himself and the Duke.

The knight's description of his early youth, where Chaucer may have had in mind his own early days ; how he first dedicated himself to the service of love, as it were, by destiny, and a feeling of duty ; how he then accidentally met with the beloved, and what impression this encounter made upon his heart—all these have great significance. One can readily see how Chaucer has all the traits of ideal womanhood full and vivid in his heart and in his soul. The refined, aesthetic, and moral sense of the poet are all seen in this poem.

Early in *The Dethe of Blaunche the Duchess*, one can see Chaucer's dramatic tendency. The dialogue, with him, becomes a dramatic scene. Besides the dialogue, this poem contains two other parts: an "Overture," and, even before that a *Prologue*. The "Overture" consists of a series of pictures which pass before the sleeping poet in agreeable succession and lead up to the dialogue. The bright May morning, the awakening in a chamber with beautifully painted windows, sweet singing birds—all these illustrate the poet's vivid ideas and his expressions of a deep sympathy with nature. In the *Prologue,* one can see certain characteristics and peculiarities which distinguish Chaucer as a story-teller. For example, one can take his elaboration of the chief points, while many other things are passed hurriedly over. Then he shows the preference for detailed psychological descriptions; in fact, peculiarities which reveal his tendency to dramatic form. In a certain sense, this poem marks the termination of that period of his life affected by his unfortunate love of which mention is made in the introduction of *The Dethe of Blaunche the Duchess.* In his later writings the old wound seems to be healed, but it is still frequently painful, it seems. It should, however, be remembered that poets in Chaucer's time wrote about disappointment in love. In this poem, Chaucer is shown to be a great lover of song.

In *The Parlement of Foules* one can see Chaucer's feeling for Nature—that feeling which comes to its fullest expression. His genius for characterization and his humor appear in a new light.

In *The Hous of Fame* one can see that Chaucer isolates himself more and more from the world of relaxation. He was a true love-poet to whom the longed-for happiness of love had never come. He was a worldly, joyous soul—always looking for new experiences, but he was condemned to the life of a recluse. He was an enthusiastic student of poetry and science. He imagines himself alone in a glorious, transparent temple, richly adorned with artistic hands, and filled with the august images whom his beloved poets had handed down to him. There was the burning of Troy; there was Dido; and there was Aeneas. As soon as he emerges, however, from that charmed circle, he finds himself in a desolate void. But soon he is on an eagle's wings and is carried to the stars. The eagle points out to him the treasure he bears within himself—the poetic fancy, which can create for him a new and more beautiful world; and the power which can confer an immortality on mighty deeds. It is in spirit that he constructs the citadel of fame, reposing, as it does, on most perishable foundations—on a rock of ice. The names which are engraved on the rock of ice melt away in the beams of the sun, while those glittering on the northern side, although they are older, are still as fresh as they always were. Thus, enduring fame will grow up stronger in adversity than in prosperity. Players, singers, trumpet-blowers, and jugglers all stand around the brilliant hall which owes its beautifully engraved door as much to chance as to unusual art. Within, everything is glittering with gold and precious stones. Upon a jewelled throne, sits the goddess of Fame, with her shining, golden hair, her countless eyes, ears, tongues, and with her winged feet ; in one moment she grows from a pigmy into giant stature. The Muses who do homage to the goddess sing a beautiful song. Fame bears upon her shoulders the heraldic arms and dames of Hercules and Alexander. Two rows of columns, worked of different metals, serve as pedestals for the giant poets and historians, in whose works great deeds survive. There are Flavius Josephus ; the "Mighty Homer," with Dares and Dictys ; and Lollius-Guide de Colonna and Geoffrey of Monmouth, the "Latin poet, Virgil," "the Venus's clerke, Ovid ;" Lucan ; Claudian ; and innumerable others. Men who seek the favor of the goddess fill the hall. Very few wish to be forgotten; almost all desire renown or, like Herostratus, a reputation, even if ever so bad. The goddess grants all the wishes or else she does the opposite to what some of them ask. Chaucer sees how everyone is overly anxious to relate that which he has scarcely heard. He sees how a lie and the truth fight for predominance. He sees how everybody runs to get the latest gossip—specially anything concerned with love affairs. This poem shows that Chaucer read a great deal.

II

THE DRAMATIC SCHEME OF THE CANTERBURY TALES, AS DEVELOPED IN THE PROLOGUE AND THE HEADLINKS AND ENDLINKS.

Since the great work of Chaucer is *The Canterbury Tales,* it is common, resting his merits on this, to speak of him as possessed of unusual dramatic power. The *Prologue* contains a series of characters introduced with sharp delineation; while the prologues connecting the several stories present brief, but spirited dialogue. The dramatic writer is more creative than descriptive; he works within and causes character to grow up before one from its living constituents in words and actions. Chaucer possessed that pictorial power which deals in a living way with men and their actions. His people come before one as a veritable troop of pilgrims, each with the mark of an individual character.

Something, perhaps, of dramatic effect may be discovered in the support and illustration which the characters receive from the aptness of the tales put into their mouths; the very second the pilgrim begins to speak, he is brought upon the stage, and becomes an actor. Yet even here he is not essentially dramatic but is engaged in illustrating the characters and adventures of others, instead of setting to view his own life and actions. A parallel for the prologue to Chaucer is not to be found in the entire range of literature because there never was an age so abounding in matter for comedy. Chaucer is dramatic because he makes his characters live before one, in their feeling and in their thought, by minute and delicate touches of observation, with almost perfect dramatic force. He is dramatic because he has made each spoken word of each character and each action of each character spring as inevitable necessity from the soul of the character that he has imagined. He has created a definite dramatic problem and a definite dramatic solution because he has linked all the parts of action together, with great skill, into a dramatic unity. Chaucer makes great use of link passages.

The dramatic scheme of *The Canterbury Tales* as developed in the *Prologue* and the Headlinks and the Endlinks stands out in contrast against the most monotonous background of his two earlier experiments, the *Tragedies and the Legend.* Chaucer's design or scheme is a pilgrimage to Canterbury. One can read each tale separately as though it were a unit. There is no end of variety since each story is told by an entirely different person. There is someting to appeal to every one. All drama must please the people as a whole and, if it is unable to do this, it has missed its mark. The strength of the drama lies in the breadth of its appeal. It misses its purpose unless it appeals to all types—the young and the old, the educated and the uneducated. It is not successful when it attracts only a few. It must appeal to all the people with all their divergencies of culture. Those who do not fancy low comedy may find something to satisfy their taste.

> "And therefore, who so list it not yheere,
> Turne over the leef, and chose another tale;
> For he shal finde ynowe, both grete and smale,
> Of storeal thing that toucheth gentilesse,
> And eek moralitee and holinesse."

The Prioress Headlink and tale.—The gracious and gentle personality and conduct of the Prioress have a powerful effect on the Host. With the most courteous, deferential diffidence he ventures to request of her a tale, if she would be kind enough to give one. The character of her tale and her way of telling it bear out the conclusion that the affections of the Prioress are on the surface. Her story is of "Younge Heyle of Lincoln," the little character who loved to sing the "Alma Redemption Mater." He was murdered by the Jews and cast into a pit, and was found through his song which persisted until the abbot raised the miraculous grain from his tongue. This pathetic story illustrates again Chaucer's wonderful power in the treatment of tenderness and innocence, and his tendency to draw the interest from the mere story and to center it on the nature and the personality of the principal personage.

The Pardoner's Endlink.—The Pardoner's revelation of self and his tragic narrative have relieved the company of the depression caused by the story of Virginia. The tale of the revelers calls for relief. Chaucer gives this in this endlink. With frozen impudence the Pardoner in all gravity bids the pilgrims step up and pay their money and enjoy the virtues of his relics. The Host, furious, bursts out in a torrent of abuse against him. The Pardoner sulks in silent rage. The Knight reconciles them ; they kiss ; and all ride on the way. Thus ends fragment C without any connection with the following tale.

The Clerk's Headlink.—The Host turns to the Clerk who has been riding very quietly. He bids him leave study and tell a "merry thing of adventures" eschewing figures and "high style"—and not to preach. Then he proposes a tale he learned at Padua of a worthy clerk now dead, "Francyes Petrark." This prologue, the Clerk's statement that he had learned the story from Padua, has been carried out to suggest that Chaucer himself met Petrarch on the mission to Genoa in 1373.

Great as were the many gifts of Geoffrey Chaucer to English literature, none of them can be compared to the wonderful storehouse of *The Canterbury Tales,* especially their *Prologue,* and the headlinks and the endlinks. They are full of pictures, freely, firmly, and crisply drawn by a keen observer. They show to one the men and the women of the time, sketching both their doings and their modes of thought in an inimitable style. In this way they form the essential material of which history is made, and they come unsophisticated from one writing of his own times. One finds out much concerning Chaucer, the man. First of all, he was a lover of men.

> " And shortly, whan the sonne was to reste,
> So hadde I spoken with hem everychon."

He was modest and unobtrusive, keeping near enough to hear the tales of the other pilgrims, but not forcing himself forward. The Host did not know him, but at the close of the tale of the Prioress called to him :

> " What man artow?
> Thou lookest as thou woldest fynde an hare ;
> For ever upon the ground I see thee stare."

A reference to the Prologue to the *Parson's Tale* shows that Chaucer, the pilgrim (and Chaucer, the man) was in the habit of regarding himself as a gnomon of six feet in height when he wanted to tell the time. From the others there is only one tale each and two of them are unfinished. Some tales which have been written previously or which receive a different place in the work from that originally intended for them have not received the alterations required for their new position. The connective narrative of the procession has many breaks.

As soon as Chaucer had made his plan for the tales, he probably worked at them as the spirit moved him, for they are not uniform. He began or left off almost anywhere, but as a finished picture never entirely corresponds to the original design, however great the artist, so it was with Chaucer; the picture, constantly before his eye, and so often interrupted in its execution, was necessarily modified in many points. This explains the state in which one finds *The Canterbury Tales.* This vast work appears as a series of fragments. The first fragment reveals to one the overflowing joy of a creative impulse. At the beginning, though, stands the general *Prologue.* This consists of three parts of unequal length—a short exordium "when people long to go on a pilgrimage" (thenne longen folk to goon on pilgrimages). In the second part the pilgrims are placed before one's eyes. Chaucer lingers longer on the actions and characters of his heroes than on their outward appearance. It is only by their actions that one would ever recognize them again. Chaucer has a good scheme of making contrasts. For instance, he separates the Physician from the Lawyer; the Sompnour from the Friar; the Student is placed immediately after the Merchant; and the Parson is placed after the Wife of Bath.

Notice the great effect of the final traits in the picture of the economical, suspicious Reeve :

> " Tukked he was, as is a frere, aboute,
> And evere he rood the hindreste of our route."

The last part of the *Prologue* is longer than the first. It begins with an address from the poet to the reader. He says that one must make allowances for the realism in his stories. He says that one must not think it is his fault if the characters act the way they do. Whoever tells a story after another is bound to give it verbatim as he heard it, "as nigh as ever he can," even with all its undesirable qualities. Next one is introduced to the pleasures of the old English tavern life. There is a brief description of the Host and he is immediately set into action. After this the pilgrimage is started and the tales begin at once. The plan of *The Canterbury Tales* as outlined in the *Prologue* evidently calls for a narrative conclusion telling of the events at the end of the pilgrimage, for one hundred and twenty-four tales and for the narrative links between the tales. The work is preserved in nine fragments which are constituted as follows : *Prologue*, Tales of Knight, Miller, Reeve, and Cook, with the connecting links ; Man of Law's headlink, *Prologue*, tale, and endlink ; Tale of Shipman, tales and links of Prioress, Thopas, Melibus, Monk, Nun's Priest, and endlink of Nun's Priest ; Tale of Physician, Words of the Host, and the *Prologue* and Tale of the Pardoner ; *Prologues* and Tales of the Wife of Bath, Friar, and Summoner ; *Prologue* and Tale of Clerk ; *Prologue*, Tale, and Epilogue of Merchant ; *Prologue* and Tale of Squire ; *Prologue* and Tale of Franklin ; Tale of second Nun and *Prologue* and Tale of Canon's Yeoman; *Prologue* and Tale of Manciple; *Prologue* and Tale of Parson.

The statement in the Parson's headlink would seem to indicate that the plan of telling two tales on the way to Canterbury was altered to the telling of one. "Wel nyne and twenty is a companyë" may indicate an original number of pilgrims differing from that of the *Prologue* as it stands.

The links between the tales are of two sorts—headlinks and endlinks. The former prepares for the next story and the latter contains an epilogue or a comment on the preceding story. Sometimes, however, a link fulfils both purposes. Such are the links: Knight, Miller, Miller-Reeve, Reeve-Cook, Shipman-Prioress, Prioress-Thopas, Thopas-Melibus, Melibus-Monk, Monk-Nun Priest's, Physician-Pardoner, Wife-Friar, Friar-Summoner, Clerk-Merchant, Squire-Franklin, and second Nun-Canon's Yeoman. There is merely a headlink before each of the following Man of Law, Squire, Clerk, Manciple, Physician. Wife and second Nun have no headlink; Cook, Pardoner, Summoner, and Franklin have no endlink. The pieces in the last three of the groups just mentioned occur at the unconnected beginning or end of one of the fragments.

After the Prologue is the Miller's headlink (A3167-86); his duty is to record the facts as they exactly are; he must not be held responsible for irregular conduct. It is the pilgrims themselves who must be indicted.

The Man of Law's headlink (*60*).—The day is the 18th of April (135-6). The host rouses the company; it is ten o'clock. Time passes. They should be at their stories. Several important points are encountered in this link. A number of pilgrims who are going to Thomas à Becket's tomb at Canterbury meet in the Tabard Inn at Southwark. There they find Chaucer and he joins the party. The host offers to go with them on condition that the company should try to shorten the journey by telling stories on the way to and from Canterbury. Everybody must take his part, but the host takes the part of guide. The one who tells the best tale will have a supper at the expense of the rest.

This poem offers familiar meetings among people who may otherwise never have met in all their lives. The valiant Knight has sought battles and adventures in every land. He and his son join the pilgrimage. Then there is the Yeoman, the Knight's servant. Next comes a wealthy Franklin with his epicurean habits, and his hospitality. The Prioress is a most attractive figure—a gentle lady of fine breeding. With her she has a nun who is her "Chapelaine" and a strong-necked priest. There are two other priests of the company who are strong physically. The Sompnour is rather repulsive to some readers. He acts as a sort of bailiff to the church court of his diocese. His ruddy face, full of running sores, his small piglike eyes, his black uneven eyebrows, his scrubby beard all make the children afraid, and it is no wonder that his power in the diocese was founded upon fear! He was selfish, greedy; was venal, cruel, hot-blooded, lustful; he loved garlic and onions and strong wine, and when he was drunk he acted like a mad person. This very repulsive figure is followed by his friend, the Pardoner, who has his wallet "brimful of pardons come from Rome all hot." His business he understands very well and he can make more money in a day than the parson could get in two months. He carried an old pillowcase, which he represented as our Lady's veil, and caused some pig's bones in a glass to be worshipped as holy relics. He was always admiring his long, thin flaxen hair. He was anything but attractive. The Parson is poor, simple, loving, self-sacrificing, patient, and, at the same time, intelligent. But he is not the only intelligent one, for there is the Oxford scholar, a Lawyer, and a Physician. The first of these is unusually fond of books, and, in appearance, he is hollow-eyed, and thin; and, in a threadbare cloak, he rode a skinny jade, "for he had gotten him as yet no benefice, and he despised any worldly office"... "Not a word spake he more than was need, and that was said in form, short and quick, and full of high sentence." The

Lawyer, " a Sergeant of Law," has an air " of great reverence ;" much respected, very busy, " and yet he seemed busier than he was." He has many robes and fees from his large practice. The Physician knows all the learned authors on his subject, and practises astrology and natural magic with success upon his patients. There is a good understanding between him and the druggists—for their mutual gain, of course. " His study is but little on the Bible ;" he lived fairly well, and keeps his money well in mind. " For gold in physic is a cordial, therefore, he loved gold in special." With this group there is the Manciple, a kind of steward. He is rather genteel. He is able to fool all the thirty men he serves. Then " a Merchant there was with forked beard," in motley dress, " and on his head a beaver hat of Flanders make." " His boots clasped neatly," on his feet; a portly gentleman most adroit in managing his affairs. Then there is a sunburnt Shipman who knows all the havens " from Gothland to the Cape of Finisterre," and every creek in Britanny and Spain; but he liked wine too well. There are five Mechanics; a Haberdasher, a Carpenter, a Weaver, a Dyer, and a Tapestry-Maker. " It is full fair to be yclept 'Madam.' " The Miller is a thick-set, broad-shouldered fellow, with a red beard and a big mouth. On the very end of his nose was a wart, and thereupon grew " a tuft of hairs, red as the bristles of a sowe's ears." " He could steal corn cleverly, and at a wrestling he always bore away the prize." The Reeve, or Sheriff, is landlord on the estate of a lord, and had learned the carpenter's trade in his youth. He is shrewd and greedy. Now the plowman comes into the scene. He follows faithfully the commands of Christ, and especially the commands of a brotherly love. The Wife of Bath speaks for herself, and needs very little introduction. Of course Chaucer was in the pilgrimage, and two other persons join the party on the way. The Host presides over these tale-telling pilgrims. He is handsome and is well built. Although he attends well to the interests of his guests, he never forgets his own. He is very careful to avoid quarreling or to settle disputes.

He is a real peace-maker. He has a wife at home who is always quarreling, but she does not seem to have robbed him of his good temper.

These characters have been touched upon to show what a wide range of characters Chaucer has chosen. He intended each of his characters to tell four tales: two upon the road to Canterbury and two upon the return. Afterwards, he thought half of this number would suffice, but even half of this half was never told. Six or seven of the pilgrims never speak at all.

"(Foure) of the clokke it was tho, as I gesse,
For ellevene foot, or litel moore or lesse,
My shadows was at thilke tyme, as there,
Of swiche feet as my lengthe parted were
In sixe feet equal of proporcioun."

The fragment containing the *Parson's Tale* was unquestionably intended as the conclusion of the whole. It was probably composed at a time when Chaucer no longer entertained the hope of accompanying his pilgrims back from Canterbury to Southwark. This was probably the reason for joining this link to the Manciple's tale. All the pilgrims have fulfilled their obligations to tell a tale, except the Parson. The day is nearly over, and there is a feeling that their place of destination is now not far distant. But it is not of this journey's end that the Parson speaks, but of that heavenly Jerusalem to which he wishes here to show his listeners the way.

The Parson's sermon treats of repentance, and thus we have Chaucer's great poem ending with a pious exhortation to repentance.

III

THE SUBJECT OF MARRIAGE IN THE CANTERBURY TALES

The subject of marriage in The Canterbury Tales begins with the wife of Bath's Prologue, and ends with the Tale of the Franklin. Marriage is discussed as the most important problem in society. The act ends when the problem has been solved. The central figure in this act of the Comedy is the Wife of Bath. She starts the argument. Her doctrines are mentioned several times, and her subject is Tribulation in Marriage. She declares that she can speak on this subject with the authority of an expert. Of course she can, since she has outlived five husbands! She declares that when God sends her the sixth she is ready to welcome him.

"Yblest be God, that I have wedded fyve:
Welcome the sixte, whan that ever he shal!"

Although the Prologue was really a long socio-religious dissertation, its sincerity relieved it from any dryness. The Wife of Bath met with no interruption through a talk recorded in eight hundred and thirty lines. Some one told her that she should have married but once. She finds no warrant for it in the Scriptures.

"That gentil text kan I wel understonde.
Eek, wel I woot, he seyde myn housbonde
Sholde lete fader and mooder, and take me;
But of no nombre mencioun made he,
Of bigamye, or of octagamye;
Why sholde men speke of it vileynye."

She says the celibate life may be a holy thing, but that it does not suit her. Just as she says she shall have a husband who shall be her debtor and thrall, the Pardoner interrupts her. Evidently he has enjoyed what she had to say, for he praises her and says she is a noble preacher. He also says, however, that what she says is enough to scare a man away from marriage. Then she tells him that her tale is not yet begun. He begs her to spare nothing "and teche us yonge men of youre praktike." She consents and goes on with her story. At the beginning, however, she says that her intention is but to make sport. The whole substance of her talk is that the wife is the head of the house. Obedience is the husband's duty. This is the only hope for happiness in wedded life. Who could know any better than the Wife of Bath? She is quite happy when she looks back on the joys of her life:

> "But, Lord Crist! whan that it remembreth me
> Upon my yowthe, and on my jolitee,
> It tikleth me aboute myn herte roote!
> Unto this day it dooth myn herte boote
> That I have had my world, as in my tyme."

The Wife of Bath is a very unusual character. The pilgrims are very attentive to her tales. But the Prioress does not understand her. The widow, for some reason, directs her talk to the clerk. She says that it is an impossibility for clerks to speak well of wives. She tells how she married Jankin, a clerk of Oxford; how she gave him all the land and fee which she had ever been given. She says that afterwards she repented it very much because he would do nothing that she wanted him to do. Once he hit her on the ear because she tore a leaf out of his book. She became angry because her husband read a book she did not want him to read.[1] Every night and day when he had leisure and freedom from his other occupations he would read this book about wicked women. This was too much for the widow, the Wife of Bath! As a final thrust she says it is impossible for any clerk to speak well of women and that when she is old and ugly, he sits down and in his dotage writes that women cannot keep their marriage vow!

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[1] *Valerius and Theophrastus.*

Instead of the clerk's speaking next in order to retaliate, he watches his chance. When the wife says her prologue has been finished, the Friar shows his interest by saying :

"Well, dame, this is a long preamble of a tale!" The Sumner reprimands him :

> " 'Lo! quod the Somonour, 'Goddes armes two!
> A frere wol entremette him ever-mo.
> Lo, goode men, a flye, and eek a frere,
> Wol falle in every dysshe and mateere.
> What spekestow of 'preambulacioun'?
> What? amble, or trotte, or pees or go sit doun!
> Thou lettest oure disport in this manere.' "

The Host checked the quarrel that was about to take place, and told the wife to continue.

> " 'Al redy, sire,' quod she, 'right as yow lest ;
> If I have licence of this worthy Frere.'
> 'Yis, dame,' quod he, 'tel forth, and I wol heere.' "

Thus the tale proceeds. There is no dispute between the Wife of Bath and the Friar. They understand each other very well. The object of the Sumner was to snub the Friar. There exists professional jealousy between these two men. The Wife, however, cares nothing for Sumner.

The Wife's tale of what women most desire is extremely interesting. She tells this story to clinch the moral of her sermon. The chief ambition of woman is sovereignty over men. King Arthur, who found himself in a predicament, let his wife do the choosing. The result was a very happy one. They lived together happily. The Wife of Bath says that those who do not yield themselves entirely to their wives may die early. Such is the moral of her story !

Every one, thus far, seems to be greatly interested in the Wife of Bath. The Friar compliments her but quickly changes the subject in order to get even with the Sumner who had corrected him for laughing at the Wife's preamble. The Friar tells an amusing story of a Sumner who was carried off by the devil. The Sumner became so angry that he stood up in his stirrups and made a sarcastic remark about begging friars. The Wife is really the cause of the quarrel, although she is not conscious of it. The end of the journey for the day closes with the Sumner's Tale.

The Host must think that the subject of matrimony is a dangerous one, for he does not ask the Wife to speak on this subject. Instead, he calls on the Clerk of Oxford to begin the story-telling for the next morning. Harry asks the Clerk to tell a merry tale in plain language—not in the high style of which he is doubtless a master. The Clerk gives his consent and begins the tale of Griselda, which he learned at Padua from Petrarch. Now is a splendid chance for the Clerk to retaliate, and he does! The sting of the wife's remark is still felt.

> "Clerks cannot possibly speak well of wives."

He tells the story of a patient and obedient wife whose devotion to her husband was proof against every trial. The whole theme of the story is wifely fidelity and woman's great endurance in time of trouble. The pilgrims must have smiled at the scheme of the Clerk. He has succeeded in vindicating his order from her disparaging remark. He has retaliated without making any personal remarks about the wife. To cap the climax, the Clerk says, "This story is not meant as an exhortation to wives to be as patient as Griselda, for that would transcend the powers of human nature. It teaches all of us, men and women alike, how we should submit ourselves to the afflictions that God sends. The Marquis Walter was a ruthless experimenter with souls. God is not like that. The trials He sends are for our good, and we should accept them with Christian resignation."

The Clerk has defended his order by praising women and he has emphasized wifely obedience. All of a sudden he turns to the Wife of Bath and offers to recite a song which he has just composed in honour of her, and of the sect which she represents "May God establish both her way of life and her principles; for the world would suffer if they should not prevail:"

> "Whose lyf and al hir secte God mayntene
> In hye maistrie, and elles were it scathe!"

And thus he declaims his Envoy in praise of feminism. His address is for all married women. It points out to them the good example of the Wife of Bath.

"But hearken to one word, lordings, ere, I depart; it were full hard now-a-days to find in a whole town three Griseldas, or even two. For if they were so tested, the gold of them is now so ill alloyed with brass, that though the coin be fair to the eye, it would break in two rather than bend. And so far love of the Wife of Bath,—whom and all her kind may God maintain in high mastery, it were pity else,—with heart fresh and lusty I will say you a song to gladden you, I trust; and let us cease from earnestful matters."

The clerk is a moral philosopher. He proved his competence and his sincerity. Kittredge, an authority on the works of Chaucer says, "It is one of the humors of literature that this Envoy is traditionally judged a violation of dramatic propriety, as being out of accord with the Clerk's character. On the contrary, as we have seen, it is adjusted, with the nicest art, not only to his character, but also to the situation and the relations among the dramatis personae.

The Wife of Bath's tale reveals her character. In other words, her revelations apply to herself and to attempt to extend them to wives in general is as foolish as it would be to interpret (as Kittredge says) Iago's cynical speeches as Shakespeare's satire on man and husbands.

The last line of the Clerk's advice to wives—to let their husbands "chafe and weep and wring and wail" is taken up by the merchant:

> "Wepyng and waylyng, care and oother sorwe
> I knowe ynough, on even and a-morwe,"
> Quod the Merchant, "and so doon othere mo
> That wedded been."

"There is no likeness between my wife and Griselda! I have been married only two months, and I have suffered more than any bachelor in a life-time!" There is much satire in the tale that follows. The merchant has married the wrong woman and one is not long in finding that out. The dotard January is more the object of the merchant's satire than May, the young wife. The folly of man is the merchant's subject and it is also another reply to the Wife of Bath. It seems as if one of her husbands had returned to give his side of the case.

The Host listens attentively to the Merchant's tale. He is happy to be able to say that his own wife is true. He continues, however, to wish that he were not married. He does not tell all his wife's faults because the list would "dizzy the arithmetic of memory."

The Host feels that there has been enough said about matrimony. He says the Squire must know much about love. Therefore he calls on him to talk about it.

> "Squier, com neer, if it youre wille be,
> And sey somwhat of love, for certes ye
> Konnen theron as muche as any man."

The Squire's Tale is the romance of Cambuscan and the Brazen Horse. The Franklin wants to found a family. His son who has low tastes is a grief to him. He compliments the Squire on his "gentillesse," and contrasts him with the ungracious heir. The Host becomes impatient and says, "A straw for your 'gentillesse!'" "Come on and tell us a story." The Franklin gives his consent and begins the story of Arveragus and Dorigen. He is not so easily rebuked by the Host. He continues the tale of matrimony and solves the problem by an appeal to "gentillesse." He selects a story which emphasized this quality. The plot is concerned with a knight who is a husband, a clerk who is a magician, and a squire who is a lover. As the story goes, Arveragus, a noble knight of Brittany, wins the love of the lady Dorigen, who "takes him for her husband and her lord." The lover, through pure "gentillesse," says that he will always be her servant. For this "gentillesse," Dorigen vows that she will always be an obedient wife. And so one has the moral of the story—the married lovers live together happily. They have the give and take spirit. This, of course, is all the result of "gentillesse."

According to the courtly system, there can be no love in marriage. The man is supposed to be the master, and mastery always drives away love. The Franklin does not agree with this at all. He says that with real love there is forbearance. This is the solution he gives to the whole problem.

LOUISE A. NELSON

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE DUTCH RAILWAYS

II

Passenger trains are classified into express, fast, international, local, suburban, workmen's special, etc. Goods Services are also similarly classified into express, international, perishables, boat, minerals, etc. Each train is handled in operation according to its order of importance. There is no control system for train movements. The country being small little need is felt for running passenger trains between midnight and 5 A.M., during which period most of the goods trains are run.

All trains are booked and charted on diagrams, including freight services and parcels trains. Some trains are noted as "Facultatieve" or to be run if required, corresponding to the German "Bedarfs Zug." Trains are known by their numbers, and noted accordingly on the time tables and charts. When two or more trains are joined together they carry one number. So also when one train is split up into two at a junction to go to two directions each part bears the same number as the parent train. Separate groups of numbers are used to denote different classes of trains and the staff can at once know a train from the number. This saves a lot of unnecessary description, specially in signalling and reporting.

The actual working of trains is done with the help of time diagrams and not with tables as in England. There are some 20 sectional time charts prepared to help the train staff and stations in their working. Four service time tables are also compiled for four divisions. These time tables are made from the diagrams and not *vice versa.* The train operating staff consider the working of trains with the help of charts much easier than with service time tables, and in fact cannot believe that some of the British railways are worked absolutely without the help of charts or diagrams.

On the charts different kinds of ink are used to indicate the main classification of the train, and the thickness of the lines denote the importance of each train. The Engineering and Locomotive Departments supply the point to point permissible running times and the charts are prepared on that basis. Special trains are arranged and booked trains are cancelled by station-masters, under the guidance of Traffic (operating) Inspectors. Clearances of track are at once visible on the chart and whenever any alteration is effected all train signal and station staff concerned are informed both by circulars as well as by each other's neighbours. Each sectional chart contains all necessary information about signal boxes and blocks, gradient, distance. speed restrictions, if any, etc.

The loading and time-keeping of trains are carefully studied with the help of traffic and operating statistics. Station-masters and signal-men are required regularly to report and explain all delays, and cases of habitual late runnings are followed up by the inspectors. Alterations in arrangements are effected in subsequent periods of working if experience so demands.

A few words should be said about goods terminals, particularly at the docks. In Holland the peculiar circumstances demand ample railway facilities at the docks and waterside stations for otherwise traffic may be driven away to the canals and waterways. The railway company is not slow to recognise this. The goods station arrangements on the river Maas, at Rotterdam, are magnificent, and stand in splendid co-operation with the marvellous dockyard facilities of the place. The station yard serves directly some of the largest private and railway warehouses and berths where loading and unloading is done with the help of giant cross-over cranes from the biggest Holland-America line steamers. The chief goods station offices are situated at one end in a circular building. Public business is dealt with in a spacious hall in the centre, comfortably furnished and very well heated. The windows for business are arranged on a semi-circular plan and the offices are berthed one after the other in the order the public have to move. The station agent sits in one corner and next to him in order are the departments of wagon distribution, inwards arrivals, interchange or transfer, outwards departing, accountants, cash, and customs. The whole office is very well lighted and ventilated, each section having free opening outside.

In some of the stations special arrangements such as lifts, cranes, warehouses, etc., are provided for the handling and storing of special kinds of traffic such as coal, meat and fish, flowers and vegetables, machinery, grains, milk, etc. Proper and adequate provisions are also made in most places for co-ordinating work with road motors and vehicles.

One of the most important marshalling yards of the Dutch Railways is that at Maarn near Utrecht, where the greater part of the long-distance international traffic converges. It is an extensive yard, very carefully laid out, and is particularly free from that cramping and congested appearance which is so striking in most of the British lines. The station is 1,800 metres in length. Including the two running lines there are 29 tracks. Twenty of these are worked from both ends, with a long cross-over line in the middle dividing up the whole yard into two sections. Ten deadend spurs butt out on the southern side and provide additional shunting yards for working from the east end. The average capacity of each track is about 45 wagons, a few of the longest ones holding upwards of 80 from one end. Eleven to twelve hundred wagons are dealt with in the yard per day in summer, and in winter the work increases to 13 and 14 hundred wagons per diem. On the eastern end marshalling is done on a hump helped by an efficient signal box from which the points are worked with electric power. At the other end, where also the switches are worked electrically, flat shunting is done with " frog " type or similar shunting and pilot engines. At busy hours four to five engines are at work at both ends and in the centre. There are 80 shunters and foremen in addition to signal box staff and yard master. All tracks are specially allotted to particular classes of traffic, according to places of destination. There are special roads kept open for pilot engine movements. A repairing shop is provided at one end of the yard and there are cripple sidings leading up to it. Men's rest room and the station or yard master's office are situated conveniently in the centre and there are lighting and watering arrangements, as necessary. The whole yard is situated on one side of the running lines and the marshalling as well as the line working are controlled by three signal boxes, one at each end and one in the middle. On the western end there are one locomotive shop, several watering places, and an electricity transformer station.

Coupling and uncoupling are done in Holland with the hand, the shunters going between the wagons every time. Few accidents are reported on this account, though. At Maarn, however, shunting poles are in use partially. Wagons are fitted with double screw coupling and therefore the use of hand becomes essential. As has already been noted most of the wagons have no brakes. Braking is effected at the time of marshalling with the help of iron shoes or skids. Sand is used on the line to prevent slipping and to effect the grip of the skids if otherwise slippery. Wooden sprags or logs are also used to stop wagons in motion if necessary.

Sirens, whistles, gestures, and hand signals are used to communicate advice from shunters or foremen to drivers and signalmen. It may be of interest to note here that a system of car-retarder is in use in the Sustern marshalling yard in South Limburg, where daily some thirty loaded coal trains are marshalled over and above the handling of empty trains. The retarder is worked by hydro-electric power which is automatically regulated according to the total weight of the loaded wagon. This retarder is the only of its kind in Europe.

Marshalling at the docks is of special interest. Here also the Dutch railways have not been slow to provide modern clearing and handling arrangements.

The rates and fares in Holland are governed by limits fixed under law. All charges must be approved by the Minister and within certain limits concessions may be made for conveyance of bulk traffic, particularly when there is keen competition with water transport. The Dutch railways have in this respect a reasonable complaint against the Government. The waterways in Holland are maintained and provided free, to all inland crafts and vessels, by the Government out of public funds. No restriction is placed on their rates and fares. The railways in Holland have on the other hand to meet heavy interest charges on the capital expenditure for the rolling stock as well as for the roadbed. The competition between rail and water transport is essentially unequal, and this irregularity is aggravated by Government check on railway rates and fares while the canal carriers are left uncontrolled. As the State is directly interested in the financial provisions for both, there is no reason why the Government should not insist on a healthy co-operation and co-ordination of work as between the railways and water transport in the country.

The position and the duties of the railways are governed by the Railway Law of 1875 and regulations made under it. The operation and handling of traffic are also controlled by the same legislation. In cases of complaints and acute disputes, traders approach, either directly or through various Chambers of Commerce, the Railway Company, the Governmental Supervisory body (Rijkstaezicht), or the Minister of Canals and Railways direct. Questions of law are decided by usual courts or by any special Tribunal appointed by Government.

As regards demurrage, the law gives the railway administration a right to raise charges after a period of 8 working hours from the time a wagon is placed at the disposal of the trader. This seems to be very hard for those with British experience. It must, however, be admitted, that the British practice in the matter is much too liberal, and does not make for quick release of the freight stock, thereby increasing the efficiency of the total supply. In actual practice, if the notice of arrival of a wagon reaches the trader between 8 A.M. and 12 noon he is permitted free time till 12 noon on the following day. If the notice is received after 12 traders may unload till 6 P.M. on the next day without extra charge. For loading, the free period allowed is 24 consecutive hours from the time of placing a wagon. Traders can ask the railways to supply wagons at any stated hour. Demurrage is charged at a higher rate per hour after the first day in order to prevent long detention, as for example, at the rate of 10 cents per hour for the first 24 hours and 20 cents per hour for the second or subsequent days. Formerly, these were prohibitively heavy, being 60 cents per hour for the first 24 hours. For private sidings the times are calculated on the basis of booked train-time or on the pilot engine time, so that if a wagon is not ready for haulage at the time the train is to depart the traders have to bear charges for the whole length of time till the next train is due.

In concluding this account it will not be out of place to mention a few other interesting things. The country is peculiarly flat and the life of the people as well as the nature of the roads are peculiarly suited to the use of push bicycles. One is amazed to find the large number of bikes in use on the roads. The railways have a very difficult task to perform in the handling of the large number of bicycles brought daily to the stations, especially in summer, either for conveyance with the passengers or for temporary storage. During summer, special vans have to be provided on almost every passenger and parcels train for this traffic, and on certain lines special bicycle trains are run. At the same time every passenger station has to make room for warehousing or storing the bikes for a few hours for a small fee. Private persons often supplement the storage facilities at places adjoining the stations, and make decent incomes out of them.

The restaurant and dining arrangements at stations are made by private agencies on contract. The station waiting-halls are used for service of tea and meals, and although passengers can stop there without ordering any food or drink the atmosphere created is such that very few people can do without either.

The Dutch railways do no cartage work by themselves, either for collection or for delivery. But this work is done by the Allgemeine Transport Company which is a daughter of the Dutch Railways. The absence of any ancillary business, such as hotels and dock services, is a specially notable feature of the railways there. Unlike England, the railways in Holland are well hit by competition from air services. The Dutch are very enterprising in the air, and already the railways are faced with the problem of diversion of a substantial portion of highly paying traffic to air transport. This has particularly affected the conveyance of long-distance first class passengers, registered parcels, cut-flowers, gold and bullion, commercial papers and stock, and some mails.

The Dutch railways however do not compare unfavourably with other countries in the matter of fares for passengers. The following table of ordinary fares is compiled to give an approximate idea of the cost of travel in different European countries :

Distance.	50 kilometers. (31·25 miles)									100 kilometres. (62·50 miles)									300 kilometres. (187·50 miles)								
Class.	1st.			2nd.			3rd.			1st.			2nd.			3rd.			1st.			2nd.			3rd.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Netherlands	0	4	1	0	3	3	0	2	4	0	8	2	0	6	6	0	4	7	1	2	0	0	17	6	0	12	3
Germany [1]	0	5	5	0	3	10	0	2	6	0	10	10	0	7	6	0	5	0	1	12	5	1	2	8	0	15	0
Switzerland	0	6	0	0	4	3	0	3	0	0	12	0	0	8	5	0	6	0	1	8	8	1	0	2	0	14	5
Sweden	0	11	0	0	5	6	0	3	7	0	19	10	0	9	11	0	6	8	2	4	7	1	2	4	0	14	11
Belgium	0	3	2	0	2	2	0	1	3	0	6	3	0	4	4	0	2	6	0	18	7	0	12	10	0	7	5
France	0	3	10	0	2	7	0	1	8	0	7	7	0	5	1	0	3	4	1	2	7	0	15	3	0	9	11
England	0	6	7		...		0	3	11	0	13	1		...		0	7	10	1	19	1		...		1	3	5

[1] Figures for Germany refer to the tariff before the 7th October, 1928, when the scales of passenger fares were revised. The present rates are 3·7 pf. for 3rd, 5·6 pf. for 2nd and 11·2 pf. for 1st class travel per kilometre. For internal traffic there are only two classes on passenger trains now—the second and the 3rd—instead of the former 3 classes.

It is hoped that the present progressive period of the Railways in Holland will be maintained, and the increased efficiency of the working of the lines under such great difficulties will be an example to all those who are more favourably placed.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

PAGANISM

God gave me a mouth to smile and to laugh with,
He gave me two arms to embrace and entwine with ;
He gave me two eyes to see the world's beauty ;
He gave me a brain to understand man with.
He gave me a body to live and to love with ;
He gave me a soul, but I know not what for !
But somehow I feel that I'm meant to enjoy it ;
To dance in the sun ; to drink deep of life ;
To take all the flowers that grow in Youth's Spring ;
He made me and gave me these sense of mine,
They cannot be carnal, they may be divine !

LILY STRICKLAND

THOMAS HARDY

(1840-1928)

Just over two years ago Thomas Hardy died. Hardy's death was practically the end of an era. The long span of four score and seven years linked him backwards with the Victorian age and far forwards with the modern. Hardy achieved the rare destiny of a man of letters, of being studied, interpreted and criticized as a classic during his own life-time. Yet it is a curious fact that inspite of being universally read and admired, he was constantly tormented by the thought that he was not only well understood but misunderstood as well. With his characteristic tragic outlook both in his verse and prose, Hardy could hardly be a popular writer and from the particular nature and quality of his philosophy it could not be appreciated except by a few. Hardy has been the victim of much unjust and undeserved criticism. Critics have complained against him just because he has not written about happiness. To find merely "a bitter contempt as of a disillusioned sensualist" or "crass Philistinism" in Hardy's view of life, betrays a very superficial and prejudiced reading of his works. Mr. G. K. Chesterton undertakes to characterize him as "the village atheist blaspheming only the village idiot." Such criticism is not only cruel but ludicrously absurd. To accept this is to forget the great artistic value and beauty of his poetry and also to ignore the novelist's strong, vigorous masculine mind. If we closely study the growth and development of his philosophy and the progress of his art in the light of the literary tendencies and ideals before and after Zola it would not be so difficult to evaluate correctly Hardy's criticism of life. It is just possible that at the end of his long career of 87 years he fell far behind the taste of the time as once he had been in advance of it. In modern fiction since nothing matters much, Hardy's type of tragic emotion is perhaps utterly unnecessary in solving the world's riddle. At any rate, Hardy was not that kind of a writer who deliberately made the worst of things and naturally we should judge his attitude for whatever it is worth, pessimistic or gloomy if you like, in so far as it has been artistically expressed in strict conformity with the standards of all creative art. It should be clearly understood that Hardy's pessimism is not in the least personal. It is both philosophic and temperamental. Hardy himself frankly states his own view thus :

" Differing natures find their tongue in the presence of differing spectacles. Some natures become vocal by tragedy, some are vocal by comedy and it seems to me that to whichever of these aspects of life a writer's instinct for expression readily responds, to that he should allow it to respond."

In other words, Hardy's own temperament has conditioned his pessimistic view of life. Indeed, optimism or pessimism is, for the most part, the result of an endeavour to express in imaginative or intellectual form the temperamental inclination or mood. Hardy has told us again and again that he writes what he sees and that he creates a world which primarily embodies the life he perceives. Consequently it would be foolish to expect what is outside the scope of Hardy's intention or experience. Hardy's pessimism, be it said at the very outset, is not splenetic, morbid or cynical; human life would not have been worth writing about, if he were to find in it only unmitigated suffering. A life of mere unhappiness is never tragical enough. Therefore, Hardy's pessimism, if one cares to probe deep enough, will be discovered to have gone further than a mere helpless recognition of evil or blind acquiescence in it. Life to him, as to other great dramatists, is a conflict, to put it in Hardy's own words, " the inherent will to enjoy and the Circumstancial Will against enjoyment." This idea of tragic conflict is worked by him again and again, sometimes in the simplest manner and sometimes with terrible earnestness, even verging on malignity.

Hardy is undoubtedly one of the world's great tragedians. He stands out as a grim, colossal figure of the Victorian age working on a massive canvas with broad sweeps of movement, sombre, austere, grand. The second half of Queen Victoria's reign was dominated by Hardy and one other figure, no less colossal, George Meredith. These two had much in common, but their differences were also many and great. Both were novelists and poets and both worked out a philosophy of life, each distinctively one's own. Meredith made man the most important phenomenon in the scheme of things, his struggles brightened by the hope and realization of victory. Hardy made man an insignificant object in the universe, striving against powers greater than himself, against an unrelenting and remorseless Destiny which takes delight always in making human affairs go wrong. In other words, Meredith had no realization of the primeaval drama of man and his environment and the elemental forces of nature; his taste was for social or romantic comedy, that is to say, the idiosyncracies and complexities of man in a civilized society. Hardy deals with men and women in conflict with old-world traditions. They strive, struggle, resist and endure according to their capacity and limitations imposed upon them, while a blind mechanical fate grinds them to dust. It is this tyrannic preoccupation with the disordered scheme of things that gives such intensely tragic reality to the Hardy literature. It was never Hardy's business to assert the facile doctrine that God's in his Heaven and all's right with the world. Rather, he found all's wrong with the world, governed by an omnipotent Destiny, but its omnipotence, according to Hardy, is matched in man only by his infinite capacity for suffering and endurance. In Hardy, there is seldom any trace of contempt for human will or human power of resistance in the struggle. A critic calls this Hardy's "double vision," which sees the littleness as well as the greatness of human life and which also perceives the utter futility of human endeavour as well as its heroic grandeur of endurance. In this double vision lies the secret of Hardy's tragedy. The essential quality of Hardy's tragedy consists not alone in the persons concerned in it, but in the invasion into the consciousness of these persons a sense of the total futility of things. As it is generally assumed Hardy's characters are not just puppets worked by an inexorable Fate, but this Fate itself conditions the activity of the characters who cannot, therefore, remain entirely passive. If they were, they could not have been the fit objects of Hardy's tragedy. Hardy did not impart to his tragic characters, in the jargon of our time, "an inferiority complex," he made them ride on the high tide of uncontrolled events but not merely as drift-woods. There are few tragedians of whom we can feel as we do about Hardy that he tried to show the sorriness underlying the grandest things and the grandeur underlying the sorriest things.

Little it would profit one who reads Hardy with any conventional ideas about life, society or religion. Hardy has the blunt outspokenness of a countryman and there is about his philosophy something of the coarseness of nature herself. Hardy is uncompromising in the search for truth and brutally frank. Except in the case of "*Jude the Obscure*" where one undoubtedly receives many disagreeable shocks from a terrible presentation of brutality and cruelty, the permanent impression left by Hardy's works is never one of unrelieved ugliness. *Jude* misses its point on account of all human nature being covered with slime and mud in it. Injustice or futility of life is in itself a terrible thing but to attempt to prove a general truth by imagined facts as in the case of this novel has been unsuccessful and unpleasant. "*Jude the Obscure*" leaps over the very human power of artistic expression. It is but Hardy's one single instance of the unfortunate climax of an artistic fallacy. The deliberate juggling with moral values which characterizes most of our present day realistic fiction is absolutely alien to Hardy's austerely noble attitude towards life. In facing what he believed to be the true fact of life, that is, to quote his own words "its dependance on the human heart's resource alone" he could never admit the charge of pessimism levelled against him. In one of his earlier stories called *"An Imaginative Woman"* Hardy records: "He was a pessimist in so far as that character applies to a man who looks at the worst contingencies as well as the best in human condition." So his pessimism cannot contain at all the dispiriting coldness of the stoic; it has pity in it and bitter sadness. As in his *"Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall"*, Sir Tristram sings to Iseult the Fair:

"Yea, Love, true is it sadness suits me best!
Sad, sad we are; sad, sad shall ever be.
What shall deliver us from Love's unrest,
And bonds we did not forecast, did not see!"

The theme is not a new one; sadness has always suited Thomas Hardy best. In his early *"Wessex Poems"* he speaks of "blank misgivings" and "obstinate questionings." In the later collection of poems entitled *"Time's Laughing-stocks and Satires of Circumstance"* in which each poem is designed to show how everything is reversed or subverted by Time and Circumstance, one poem ends thus:

"But—after love what comes?
A scene that lours
A few sad vacant hours,
And then, the curtain."

In his last book of poems *"Winter Words"*, sadness grows more intense and grotesque. One poem has for its subject a woman telling her second husband how her first husband died. The man had come home drunk and as he lay in the bed in a drunken sleep she had sewed him up in the bedclothes. He was found dead in the morning—she had taken the stitches out so that nobody should suspect that she had anything to do with the tragedy. This is how the poem ends:

"Did you intend his death by your tight-lacing?"

> " O, that I cannot own.
> I could not think of else that avail,
> When he should wake up, and attempt embracing."
> " Well, it's a cool queer tale!"

Thus it is clear that there is no essential break in the continuity of this motive. Hardy's thoughts are of graves and epitaphs of shattered lives and unfulfilled hopes. Whether his theme is of one of the old legends of Wessex or the great drama of the Napoleonic years, his vision is always sombre and sad. Hardy has faced the sadness of life and spoken it but at the same time he has never humbled or belittled life. One may accuse him of paganism or fatalism if one likes, but could one make him ever accept the unthinking optimism of a conventional kind? However much you may accuse him, he would probably smile and say to you in great compassion :

> " Mock on! mock on, yet I'll go pray
> To some Great Heart, who haply may
> Charm mental miseries away."
> —*The Dynasts, Act VI., Sc. v.*

In Thomas Hardy's outlook of life we notice two distinct attitudes inextricably interdependant, his sense of law and his sense of pity. The first gives him the conviction that a spiritual logic governs man's life and conduct, something similar to what the Greeks call Nemesis, Hardy worked out at great length this sense of law in his grandiose world-scheme in " *The Dynasts.*" It must, however, be noted that Hardy has no sympathy with the moralized Destiny or Fate of the Greek Tragedy which, in order to maintain the prescribed symmetry of human affairs was ever ready to avenge irregularities in life. Mr. William Leonard Courtney (in "Old Saws and Modern Instances") has made an interesting comparative study of Aeschylus and Hardy and tried to estimate their respective points of view of the world as it is governed. Mr. Courtney calls Aeschylus "a philosophic advocate of the Gods" and Hardy "a scientific agnostic of the modern type." That may be, but we confess that we cannot discover in Hardy's *Dynasts* what Mr. Courtney describes "only a melancholy confession of Nescience and Agnosticism." On the contrary, Hardy makes an intelligent attempt in this book to formulate a reasonable solution of "the Mystery of this Intelligible World." Mr. F. A. Hedgecock in his brilliant dissertation in French on *Thomas Hardy, Penseur et Artiste* discusses with great clarity and precision Hardy's doctrine of law.

Whatever may be the metaphysical mystery underlying Hardy's doctrine of an omnipotent law which controls human destiny and frustrates human endeavours as well, we are inclined to think that this metaphysical mystery is nothing more or less than Hardy's sense of the wholly natural mystery of maladjustments in the very nature of things. So it is that Hardy cannot help asserting all the time the dreadful vitality of human actions and persistently dwelling on the theme of disproportionate punishment. What is less implicit in "*Desperate Remedies*" or "*A Pair of Blue Eyes*" gradually assumes definite proportions in "*Tess of the D'Urbervilles*" or "*Life's Little Ironies*." If the development of Hardy's thought is studied in the successive novels he produced between 1871 and 1895, it will be clear that there is very little change in his fundamental outlook. The tragic idea of injustice and disproportionateness is his ever-recurring theme, finding its logical extreme in "*Jude the Obscure*." Take the following two passages from "*A Pair of Blue Eyes*" and "*Life's Little Ironies*:"

> "There are disappointments which wring us, and there are those which inflict a wound whose mark we bear to our graves. Such are so keen that no future gratification of the same desire can ever obliterate them; they become registered as permanent loss of happiness."
>
> "Our evil actions do not remain isolated in the past, waiting only to be reversed; like locomotive plants they spread and re-root, till to destroy the original stem has no material effect in killing them."

In his earlier writings such as *Under the Green-wood Tree* and *Far from the Madding Crowd*, the mingled sweetness and bitterness of life are beautifully contrasted, but in *Tess* and

Jude, rich in power and insight though they are, "earth's old glooms and pains" are needlessly intensified. It is well that Hardy should see the injustice of this irresistible logic of life as it is worked, but not satisfied with picturing only the tragedy of human beings in fateful circumstances, he ascribes the tragedy itself to "an unsympathetic First Cause." As in the case of the tragedy of Tess, Hardy's final arrangement is not merely confined to the cruelty of social environment and custom, but of divine justice: "'justice' was done and the President of the Immortals (in Aeschylean phrase) has ended his sport with Tess." In this one sentence we have the core of Hardy's conception of the logic of life. Hardy puts into the mouth of Sue Bridehead his selfsame belief of a hostile and implacable power which is responsible for the tragedy of *Jude the Obscuie*:

> " There is something external to us which says,
> 'You shant!' First it said,
> 'You shant learn!' Then it said,
> 'You shant labour!' Now it says,
> 'You shant love!' "

In *A Pair of Blue Eyes* Hardy describes this notion "as a fancy some people hold, when in bitter mood, that inexorable circumstance is only meant to prevent what intelligence wants." The Mayor of Casterbridge cannot help realizing "the ingenious machinery contrived by Gods for reducing human possibilities of amelioration to a minimum." In *The Return of the Native* again, when Eustacia Vye turns Mrs. Yeobright away, "instead of blaming herself for the issue, she laid the fault upon the shoulders of some indistinct, colossal Prince of the world, who had framed her situation and ruled her lot." One might wonder why this should be so or why the law of life should have to be so malign and unjust. Yet, Hardy has made it his business to make an image of life in the way he sees it and understands it. More than that we cannot and must not ask.

Hardy's sense of pity is perhaps more accute than any other tragic novelist. Realizing as he does the terrible handicaps of life he treats with gentle tolerance the sufferings of his men and women. His humanitarian pity comes from a social and moral ethics entirely his own. Hardy's measure of purity lies in the intention of heart. He calls Tess "a pure woman" because her intention was pure. He describes Tess when she is disgraced as surrounded "with a cloud of moral hobgoblins by which she was terrified without reason. It was they that were out of harmony with the actual world, not she." Thus Tess should not possibly have any responsibility in the matter; she was morally guiltless. It, therefore, follows that Hardy utterly ignores the conventional standards of morality and falsely exaggerated notions of chastity. Hardy would gladly lift the "poor wounded name" of Tess from all infamy up to the level of complete innocence. In the same manner, he would compel us to believe that "Eustacia Vye was the raw material of divinity. On Olympus she would have done well with a little preparation. She had the passions and instincts which make a model goddess, that is, which make not quite a model woman. Had it been possible for the earth and mankind to be entirely in her grasp for a while, had she handled the distaff, the spindle and the shears at her own free will, few in the world would have noticed the change of government. There would have been the same inequality of lot, the same heaping of favours here, of contumely there, the same generosity before justice, the perpetual dilemmas, the same captious alternation of caresses and blows that we endure now." Whether Hardy can prove his case or not, that is altogether a different matter. But it must be admitted that he has encircled all his pathetic, tragic men and women with tender compassion. No doubt, in *Jude*, his irony is more bitter and grim and his sense of pity seems at times to be so despairing as to be almost a negation of life. But if he has cried against the gruesome injustice of life even in such blackest mood of despair, it is for no other reason than that life has hurt his own fellow beings whom he loves. The world may be, to his eyes, only a scene of blind forces working heedless of man's smiles or tears but it is those little smiles and little tears that interest him. To accuse a divine creator of measureless injustice, as Hardy does, is certainly to assume that it is after all worth getting justice or claiming justice done. Beyond this, Hardy resolves to say no more, as in the very last poem of his last collection of verses *Winter Words*:

"Why load men's minds with more to bear
That bear already ails to spare?
From now alway
Till my last day
What I discern I will not say.
Let Time roll backward if it will;
(Magians who drive the midnight quill
With brain aglow,
Can see it so).
What I have learnt no man shall know.
And if my vision range beyond,
The blinkered sight of souls in bond,
—By truth made free—
I'll let all be,
And show to no man what I see."

P. GUHA-THAKURTA.

INDIA

Old temples, old faiths, old gods, old India!
Even an alien such as I may know
The glam'rous beauty of your thousand moods ;
The languid passion of your breath by day
Or muted magic of your moon-drenched night ;
The tumbled grandeur of old palaces ;
Ruined temples choked in jungles' wild embrace,
Where stealthy cobras slither through the gloom,
And a cold and mocking moon looks down on
Scenes forlorn ; the gaiety of markets
Filled with life and light, seething in the sun ;
Perfumes of blooms and incense mingled with
Decay and death ; dim water-ways that thread
A winding way beneath the tangled green,
Where brown and turbanned men pole age-old craft
And sing their plaintive songs of ancient Ind ;
Wide spacious plains of palm and paddy-fields ;
Roads white with dust that countless feet have trod ;
Tinkle of bullock-bell and measured tread
Of camel-caravan, and throngs of pilgrims
Bound on unknown quests ; vagabond and priest ;
Enchanted Himalayas, majestic,
Snow-capped and remote, the mighty ramparts
Of the north rise gloriously skyward ;
Jungle and plain ; desert and wooded hill,
And all the far-flung beauty of a land
As old as time, as secret and aloof,
Whose past lives on inscrutably to-day.

LILY STRICKLAND

DANGER SPOTS IN WORLD POPULATION[1]

Professor Warren S. Thompson, Director of the Scripp Foundation at Miami University for Research in Population Problems, has, in his work "Danger Spots in World Population" made a very substantial contribution to the cause of World Peace. The author has not discussed the population problem in a conventional and orthodox manner; but has tried to show its relation to world peace. Those who are genuinely interested in world peace will find the book most interesting and instructive. Students of International relations cannot afford to miss the book ; because it presents a clear, dispassionate and scientific study of one of the chief factors which lead to war.

Some of the important conclusions of Prof. Thompson's study are as follows:—(*a*) A nation, through pressure of population and to secure means of subsistence, is forced to seek territorial expansion which often leads to war. (*b*) Control of population pressure, through the practice of *Birth Control,* is one of the surest means of aiding the cause of world peace. But it is certain that in the very countries, where the pressure of population is the greatest, such as Italy, Japan, India, China, birth control cannot be enforced effectively within several decades, even through legislation. (*c*) World peace cannot be maintained for many years, on the basis of *status quo.* (*d*) For the re-adjustment of population pressure and to avoid wars, those nations which have acquired vast territories (by using force and dispossessing other nations) and are not in need of these territories and, for many reasons, are not able to develop them for the good of the world at large, should be willing to give up some of the undeveloped lands to those nations which are in need of them and are able to develop them through colonisation. (*e*) Unless this is done the present *status quo*, which is based upon the " force system " of various Imperialist powers, will be overthrown by those nations whose very existence will demand re-adjustment in their favor. This will be brought about by new alignment of powers, through the activities of Japan, Italy, China, India, Germany and other countries which are under the pressure of population and feel that they are being unjustly treated by the land-grabbing powers, especially Great Britain and France. (*f*) Great Britain is anxious to maintain *status quo* in the Western Pacific and doing her best to secure American support. The United States of America has nothing to gain, from the standpoint of economic interests and world interests, by aiding Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand against Japan, China and India.

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[1] *Danger Spots in World Population*—by Warren S. Thompson. Published by Alfred A. Knopf. New York City.

Prof. Thompson makes the most important contribution to the cause of International peace and justice when he asserts that *status quo* on the control of the undeveloped countries by various western nations, may have legal sanction ; but it has no real moral and ethical sanction. The present policy of the powers possessing vast undeveloped territories of preventing other peoples from developing them, has been justly characterised as a dog-in-the-manger policy. Prof. Thompson is not an upholder of the " White Australia " or " White Africa " policy ; because he thinks that there is no moral justification for it. Furthermore such a policy will lead inevitably to war. He writes :—

" One of the chief arguments in justification of the White man's exploitation of new lands has always been that he needed new lands and larger resources and that the natives in large parts of the earth were not using their lands and resources as well as he could ; hence he felt that he was entitled to take control of them and put them to use. He is now finding that there is some truth in the homely expression that '*chickens come* *home to roost.'* The same argument for the better, more complete, use of lands would certainly justify the Oriental peoples in taking the lands which the White man is not using as well as they could.'' (pages 163-164.)

Professor Thompson carries his theory further and comes to a conclusion which may be regarded by the orthodox students of international law and international relations, as very revolutionary. To him it seems that when a nation is under the pressure of population and needs new territory for its very subsistence while other nations possess needless surplus territories they are not able to develop and yet refuse to make peaceful re-adjustment in favor of the former, creating a situation that may lead to war, then the power which is under population-pressure should not be held morally responsible for aggression. He writes :—

'' It is an interesting kink in our notion of international ethics that aggression is condemned indiscriminately, apparently because it is aggression, while the maintenance of *status quo,* which may work untold hardship on millions of people, seems to have general approval. It is, of course, to the interest of the peoples who have all they want to throw the onus of moral responsibility for war on those who have little, and would, therefore, necessarily be the ones to initiate a struggle for a change of the *status quo.* But we should have arrived at sufficient knowledge of the methods and conditions of the acquirement of lands in past times, to prevent mere possession from creating in our minds an unshakable presumption of moral right to hold them under any and all conditions.'' (page 238.)

Population-pressure in Italy is so serious that it may disturb world peace, unless new outlets are found for Italian immigration and colonisation. To satisfy Italy's need Great Britain and France should make some concessions to her. France should arrange that Italy may acquire control over Syria and Britain should allow Italy to secure possession of Iraq. Prof. Thompson thinks " if in addition to the acquisition of Syria and Iraq, the immigration policy of Australia and South Africa were so changed as to admit considerable number of Italians, the pressure in Italy would be relieved......"

Japan, India and China will need territories for expansion. At present Japan's need is the most urgent, and China's need is the least pressing. Japan needs territories where her surplus population may colonise. It has been proved conclusively that Manchuria or Korea is unsuitable for Japanese colonisation; therefore the Japanese should have opportunities in warmer countries. Prof. Thompson makes the bold suggestion that the tropical part of Australia which cannot be colonised by " White men" should be given to Japan for the purpose of colonisation. He further suggests that Britain, Australia and Holland should agree that Japan should be given possession of New Guinea.

Chinese population expansion is quietly but effectively going on in the Malay Peninsula, Indo-China, Siam and the Dutch colonies. Southward expansion of Chinese population is the logical solution of her population problem.

To relieve the population-pressure of India, Great Britain should encourage Indian immigration to Africa especially in East Africa (particularly Kenya). British authorities and British residents in Africa are opposed to Indian colonisation in East Africa and they often pretend that Indian immigration should not be encouraged in order to protect the natives (Negroes) from exploitation. It will be worthwhile to take careful consideration of Prof. Thompson's views on this subject. He writes:—

" It seems not unlikely, then, that this theory of trusteeship which is particularly applied to Africa is only a cloak under cover of which other interests can be served. This cloak also apparently hides from the conscience some of the true motives and thus renders it quiet in the face of conduct that might disturb it if they were clearly and nakedly revealed. To the

Oriental this certainly appears to be so. He sees in the History of the West during the last five hundred years or more a constant denial in conduct of the theory that lands should be preserved for the use of those who happen to live in them.

"It appears to the man in the East that the Westerner has never hesitated an instant to dispossess the natives of any land he has wanted for his own use. If he has not wholly driven out the natives or exterminated them, he has enslaved them as far as possible and made them serve him. The theory that he derives from the European's conduct as pictured in his history of expansion is that the only right is might. Nothing but force seems to him to count in the determining of the European's relations to the other peoples. Thus, if the Oriental feels that the theory of preserving the lands of African Negroes for them in the future is merely a high-sounding phrase devised to cover their exploitation solely by the Europeans, we should scarcely be surprised. Often it is not pleasant to see ourselves as others see us, and particularly is this true if the others are not properly appreciative of the values for which our civilization stands." (page 164.)

"The fact is that at the present time *every* Indian is a potential agitator against Great Britain. As such he is not a desirable immigrant, because if such people become numerous, the White man's grip on this part of the world (Africa) is certain to be loosened...Underlying all objections to the settlement of Indians in East Africa is, as we have tried to make clear in this discussion of the reasons usually given, the feeling that their presence spells the end of White exploitation in this part of the world in the not distant future. Economically the White man cannot compete with the Indian in a new tropical country. The modes of living and standards of consumption of the Indian are so low that they can beat the White man in an open competition. Furthermore, the Indian outbreeds him so rapidly that even if comparatively few were admitted, they would soon greatly outnumber him, and since they are not so docile and so easily managed as the Negroes, they do not furnish good material for long-continued exploitation." (p. 170.)

"The settlement of East Africa by the Indian would, then, appear to be one of the ways of easing the strain in India and would also provide for the settlement and use of this now almost vacant land by one of the neediest of peoples......There is, therefore, reason to think that an outlet for the Indians as great as that of East Africa would very materially help in solving India's population problem. Throwing this area open to Indian settlement would most certainly contribute largely to a better understanding between Great Britain and India and thus render the Indians less likely to disturb the present balance of power than they will otherwise be." (pages 180-181.)

"In the past almost all Western scholars ignored the rights of the people of the Orient to expand. They thought of preserving world peace in terms of maintenance of "White supremacy" and "exploitation of the so-called backward peoples." It is most gratifying that Prof. Thompson brushes aside this double standard of International morality in International relations and suggests that "Unused lands and resources in the world should be regarded as a means of satisfying human needs rather than as prizes to be kept solely for the profit of the peoples who happen to hold them at the present moment. Only when this comes to be the general attitude of the great powers may we expect that Japan and other sorely pressed nations will cease to have any interest in creating troubled conditions from which they may possibly derive some profit. But until the nations holding excess resources reform, we cannot expect any considerable change in the conduct of the nations which are suffering from the lack of resources."

In conclusion Prof. Thompson makes the constructive suggestion that the existing "force system" in International relations should be modified through International co-operation. An International Committee should be organised for this purpose. This Committee, among other things, should carefully study problems of pressure of population in various lands and examine the need of nations seeking for new territories and supply of raw materials. This Committee's impartial reports will help in creating public opinion in favor of peaceful adjustment of International problems which will eliminate possibilities of wars.

TARAKNATH DAS

THE VALLEY OF DREAMS

Here in a valley where streamlets are singing
  And sweet golden laughter sweeps up to the skies,
Where thrushes and linnets are mating and winging
  Here 'twas I loved you, O! Beautiful Eyes!
Here midst the gold-fire of wild daffodils
  When the air thrilled and throbbed with love-cries,
When the moon drew a soft veil of gold o'er the hills
  Here 'twas we wandered, O! Beautiful Eyes!
Here where our sweet tale of love was oft told
  When life was a medley of laughter and sighs,
Here I shall wander when we have grown old
  Remembering, and dreaming, O! Beautiful Eyes!

LELAND J. BERRY

THOUGHTS ON PROGRESS

State of harmony or conciliation.

(3) In conflict or antagonism there are to be noticed the spirit of domination or self-aggrandisement and that of stubbornness or non-submission at work, challenge or provocation and counter-challenge or retort, attack and counter-attack, action and reaction, heat and tension, victory and defeat, wrong-doing and vindictiveness, the shouts of joy and the cries of despair, the misunderstanding of each other's intention, the misrepresentation of each other's position, the infliction of cruelty, the unnecessary waste of energy, distortion, distraction and dislocation, disintegration and destruction, violence and vengeance, the estrangement of feelings, the harbouring of grudge and continued enmity.[1] From certain careful observations of these gloomy and appalling features of conflict[2] and from certain intense reflections on the scene of carnage and the horrors of war[3] the human mind is led to contemplate harmony or conciliation, concord or compromise, and treaty or peace as the only and ultimate condition of progress.

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[1] All these points are vividly set forth in several descriptions of battles in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, particularly in the latter. As regards battle in the field of philosophical controversy, the Pali Dialogues contain the following set formula of challenge or provocation :

"You don't understand this doctrine and discipline, I do.

How should you know about this doctrine and discipline ?

You have fallen into wrong views. It is I who am in the right. I am speaking to the point, you are not,

You are putting last what ought to come first, and first what ought to come last. What you've excogitated so long, that's all quite upset. Your challenge has been taken up.

You are proved to be wrong. Set to work to clear your views. Disentangle yourself if you can.".

[2] *Cf.* Kalaha-Vivāda, Cūḷavyūha and Mahāvyūha Suttas in the Sutta-Nipāta, Bk. IV

[3] *Cf.* Aśoka's R. E. XIII.

The question, then, arises : what is harmony? I can quite understand that as a passive state harmony implies essentially a sufferance granted to the manifold to exist and function retaining its own character, while as an active state it implies essentially an equipoise of the manifold where the manifold has and is anxious to maintain its own character. Accordingly harmony may be defined as that form of collective existence which is based upon some sort of mutual understanding and in which the contending parties, the rivals, opponents or belligerents, have stopped their hostilities, temporarily or permanently, to come to be somehow interrelated as distinct and at the same time interdependent individuals or groups—distinct in the sense that each party forming a factor of the interrelation is sufficiently conscious of its own identity, special strength and importance and reluctant to lose it for all the world, and interdependent in the sense that they have felt the wisdom of realising their mutual limitations and are no longer unaware of the presence, need, strength and weakness of each other or of one another. It is necessary, therefore, to bear in mind that the peculiar character of harmony or conciliation is that the individuals or groups representing it are determined and trained up not to lose their individuality but to retain, utilise and foster it up at all costs and under all circumstances.

If the desired end be just the passive maintenance of separatism leaving each distinct factor to shift for itself without trenching upon others like the substances of the philosophy of Kabandhim Kātyāyana, it becomes necessary to keep these factors or elements permanently at reasonable distances withal in a state of tension, by creating artificial barriers, as though in a zoo, the tigers in one cage and the lions in another and the lambs in a third. This is possible only by curtailing the scope of existence and activities of each and making them all dependent for their maintenance and safety upon a common care-taker, human or divine.

If the desired end, on the contrary, be an active state of co-operation and a participation in a common life or cause, it is possible only in that order of existence where all distinct but interdependent individuals or groups are required to fulfil particular or specific functions to the best of their abilities in unison with others functioning differently for the production in a common undertaking or performance of the best possible result on the whole.

Attraction and repulsion are the two formative principles that mould the life of the manifold in harmony. Repulsion is that principle which keeps the component factors at reasonable distances and attraction is that principle which brings them together from time to time. Toleration is the outcome of coercion or restraint imposed in a reasonable measure upon the life of the manifold in harmony. Consistent with the principle of repulsion, harmony dictates just the wisdom of evasion or non-intervention, which is to say, of either cynically or sceptically evading the issues in the belief that each of them is as good or as bad as the other or leaving each cause or interest to proceed on its lines in the belief that it will ultimately make for the same kind of good.[1] And consistent with the principle of attraction, harmony suggests that the best way to grow is to meet one another for the interchange of ideas, debates and deliberations in order to discover the common mission of life and its fruitful efforts.[2]

Thus I can quite appreciate that at the back of all kinds of harmony there is somehow the recognition of a grand belief of the human mind in an eternal and universal scheme of existence where all can hope and legitimately claim to enjoy life and happiness and put forth activities in their proper spheres, as well as of the belief in the operation of one common urge to progress towards a common goal, irrespective of the consideration whether this common urge comes from the will of God, or from the creative fervour of nature, or from the universality of truth. But the tender point of harmony is that it aims consciously just at the best conservation or preservation of the system or institution which is taken for granted as eternally of the same character. The really vulnerable point of it is that it impels men just to mark time, which is to say, to eke out their existence; that along with the curtailment of the scopes of existence and activity, it is sought to be maintained on the strength of the superstitious belief that all that is, is right in the right place and that the present circumstances will remain unchanged for ever. The consequence of this is that as soon as there is a sudden change in the world conditions, it breaks down as a house of cards.

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[1] his is the general Hindu idea of toleration.

[2] This is the novel idea of toleration enunciated by Aśoka in his Twelfth Rock Edict.

It is easy at this stage to understand that harmony serving as the best conceivable means of satisfying the manifold requirements of humanity and containing possibilities of a variety of types of creation is certainly a condition of progress. But its preoccupation all along being rather conservation than original creation, rather eking out existence than invigorating it, rather specifying and universalising than individualising the diverse methods of training and articulation, it cannot surely be judged as the only and ultimate condition of progress.[1]

State of unity.

(4) Disappointed by the superfluous conventionalism, and constant emphasis on law and order of cumbrously disposed harmony, the human mind proceeds to satisfy itself by entertaining the state of unity as the only and ultimate condition of progress. Unity in the words of the Buddha consists in "meeting together frequently in a body, rising up together in a body and functioning together in a body." The state of unity is aptly compared by the great Buddha to the condition of the ocean into which the

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[1] This is in substance an effective criticism of the principles and tenets of Hinduism which is Bhāgavatic in its essential character.

different and various rivers merge their identity to assume the one common designation of the ocean. Keeping in view this idea of unity as formulated by the Buddha, the state of unity may be clearly defined as a highly, carefully and consciously organised order of corporate existence where the individuals representing it merge or dissolve their individualities or personal differences in order to create an artificial whole or person, and are so trained up as to behave as brave soldiers and function together as a single man and for a single purpose. Thus it becomes a great acting force, capable of conquering the world and withstanding all the obstacles and difficulties on the way. Awe-inspiring is the history of its conquests and most glorious is the record of its brilliant achievements as might be exemplified by the rapid propagation of Buddhism among different Asiatic peoples, the world-wide spread of Christianity and the hurricane-like raging of Islamic forces over three continents. Gauḍīya Vaishṇavism, Sikhism, Brahmoism, Socialism, Communism and Nationalism—each one of these may be cited as a notable example of unity in the above sense. Regimental drill and discipline constitutes its external life. It lays so much stress on this kind of discipline that ultimately discipline itself becomes the end ceasing to be the means. Consequently discipline becomes a soul-crushing superstition instead of remaining subservient to enlightenment. Adherence to the same leader, the same creed and the same corporate body is the *sine quâ non* of its inner life. The real danger of such unity is that in its dash and rash march it disturbs or destroys all harmony and comes into conflict with other forms of unity to think again of establishing a fresh order of harmony. The peculiar character of all credal movements is that on account of their one-sidedness, they are bound to be obsolete ere long after losing their objective. Every form of unity is destined to bring its glorious career to a close by affirming precisely that by denying or challenging which it started its life, the Catholic turning out to be the least catholic of all. The main weak point of unity lies in the fact that being taught and trained up to obey implicitly the command of a supreme master or that of his lieutenant, the human beings begin to act as so many puppets losing all power of initiative, the play of will, intellect and imagination being largely possible in a single individual. As soon as the strong hand of the commander is withdrawn, disintegration overtakes the life of unity, and an authoritative royal ordinance[1] is called forth to prevent disunion and dissension playing a havoc. The bright side of unity, nevertheless, is that it serves as a powerful instrument, so long as it remains in its proper order, for impressing the mighty influence of personality and intelligence of a gifted individual whose attainments are far above the common level.

From these considerations it may be increasingly clear that although as a great acting force and a powerful instrument for extending the limits of human attainments far beyond the dreams of the multitude, unity is a condition of progress, it cannot be judged as the only and ultimate condition for the deadweight of awe with which it suppresses the general aspirations of humanity and emasculates the lesser powers. By its undue emphasis on the uniformity of behaviour and the oneness of thought, unity serves to impoverish the wealth of the types of creation by depriving men of the right of personal initiative.

State of beatitude.

(5) Beatitude in the abstract is just the true inwardness of strangeness in so far as it concerns individual life, while in the concrete it is described as a purely spiritual or emotional state,—the true condition of soul which is blissful, joyous, glorious, unfailing, invariable, steady and the same for ever in the experience of all. It is possible in that plane of individual existence or in that level of individual experience where consciousness presents a vacant mood in the sense that it is found devoid of thoughts and sense-data as its

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[1] Here Aśoka's ordinance as embodied in the Sanchi, Kausambi and Sarnath Pillar Edicts is kept in view.

content and no longer disturbed by the conative process of will. It is a tranquil state in which there is sensing of peacefulness of the whole of nature. It is a condition of emancipation in the sense that consciousness is free from all obsessions of the idea of interest, physical, intellectual, moral or even spiritual. The question is—Is such beatitude a perpetual state and can it be judged as the only and ultimate condition of progress? So long as the possibility of beatitude remains bound up with a plane of individual existence or a level of individual experience, it cannot be a perpetual state, nor can it be judged as the only and ultimate condition of progress. It is not difficult to imagine that a living individual may be disposed either vitally or reflectively. When vitally disposed, the individual begins to function as vital energy and as designing mind, functioning as vital energy when he is not functioning as designing mind and as designing mind when he is not functioning as vital energy, his functioning as vital energy being logically prior to his functioning as designing mind. The peculiarity of the vital disposition is that when it continues, the mental functions themselves partake somehow of the nature of the vital. The alternation of the twofold functioning in sequence completes a moment with a temporary lapse into and drifting in the life-continuum in its involuntary, unconscious and helpless mood with reference to the preceding moment and in its placid, potential and adjusting mood with reference to the moment which follows. The series of such moments continues up to a certain stage beyond which there takes place a prolonged drifting in the life-continuum in its above described mood. The period of time during which this drifting goes on is generally known as the period of sleep. During this period the tendency of the individual is to function as matter. The more perfectly he functions as matter the sounder is the sleep.

And when reflectively disposed, the individual begins to function as living experience and as reasoned thought, functioning as living experience when he is not functioning as reasoned thought and *vice versa*, his functioning as living experience being logically prior to his functioning otherwise. The peculiarity of the reflective disposition is that when it continues, the vital functions themselves partake somehow of the nature of the mental. The alternation of the twofold functioning in sequence completes a moment with a temporary indwelling on the nature of the life-continuum in its wakeful, conscious and joyous mood. The series of such moments continues up to a certain stage beyond which there takes place a prolonged indwelling on the nature of the life-continuum in its wakeful, conscious and joyous mood. The period during which this indwelling goes on is to be understood as duration of the condition of beatitude. During this period the tendency of the individual is to function as mind or pure consciousness. The more perfectly he functions as mind in the above sense the greater is the vividness of the feeling of beatitude. He may die either when his disposition is vital or when his disposition is reflective. If his death takes place when his disposition is vital and he is drifting in the life-continuum, the trend of evolution which may be supposed to run is cosmic, and if it takes place when his disposition is reflective and he is indwelling on the nature of the life-continuum the trend of evolution which may be supposed to run is aesthetic or idealistic. Thus one may distinguish the courses of man's life in his twofold disposition.

But the very fact that a saint who is credited with the experience or enjoyment of beatitude feels the need of food and sleep, the legitimate inference to be drawn from it is that he is unable to continue eternally and indefinitely in his reflective disposition. An aeon, too, is but a limited portion of time. The purely spiritual or emotional interest is also an interest. As drifting in the life-continuum or functioning as matter is necessary to add vigour and freshness to the activities of man in his vital disposition, so it is conceivable that indwelling on the nature of the life-continuum is necessary to add significance and lustre to the experiences and thoughts of man in his reflective disposition. And considered in this light, beatitude is certainly a condition of progress, though not the only and ultimate condition.

Now to conclude: we have seen clearly enough that none of the five states—strangeness, conflict, harmony, unity and beatitude, is a perpetual state, and that although each one of these may be interpreted as a possible condition of progress, none can be judged as the only and ultimate condition. To adhere to each believing it to be a perpetual state and the only and ultimate condition of progress is to move in a vicious circle. The reasonable view is to regard all of them as possible conditions or moments of man's individual or collective existence, and the progressive scheme of life is that which affords wider and wider scopes to all individuals to realise all of these. Admitted this, we are led to the next section devoted to the discussion of the modes of effecting progress,—progress that satisfies the given definition, tests and conditions.

[*To be continued.*]

B. M. BARUA.

PENITENT LOVER

I.

I, flint, with steel, by river drowned
Of light emit no spark,
The river flows, the rough wind blows
With all mine I am dark.
That light from me can ever rise
Looks dead to eye and thought,
That flesh is flint and mind is steel
Unlove remembers not.
Rough wind of passion whirls me round
Unfaith to one can't bind.
What I am I never ask
My lust-imprison'd mind.
Whence am I and where to go,
Is aught secure in change?
There's none to ask and none to say
Of me and mine—how strange,
The diver dives, unlov'd, unasked
And holes are in his breast
And dries me in the sun called Faith
In sportive love to rest—
The flint and steel by touch of Love
Send sparks of love, below, above
The diver's name is Penitence,
The purifier of mind and sense.

II

When lured by magic charms of sense,
—Bemused by spells of mind
Thy love's forgot, my sweet, shy bride,
Is love then winged wind?

Ah! no, thy love's joy near and far,
In purity and dirt,
Thy love is love, unknown or known,
A faithful bride, no flirt.
She rescues me from harlot heart,
She breaks the spell of sense,
She saves my waste, she cures my ills,
Disguised as Penitence.
Love is love at death and birth,
Love is heaven and Love is earth;
To know sweet love is Love to be,
And Love is all and all forms free,
All sins for Love in darkness grope
Forgetting self in light of Hope.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

ROBERT BRIDGES

A more detailed survey of his works considered as poetry.

If mere craftsmanship is permitted to determine a poet's place, Bridges may have to reckon with even Mr. Rudyard Kipling who was his rival from (roughly speaking) 1901 to 1925 and whose admirers would have preferred him as the Laureate of England immediately after Alfred Austin. Bridges is decidedly Kipling's superior by reason of his vision, his philosophy of life. Yet we note with regret that he betrays, at any rate in his latest poem, an insularity of outlook so characteristic [1] of Kipling and from which even Tennyson was not free. Intense patriotism [2] may justify all that he says about the ideal

> "Harmonized life in the aristocracy of our English motherhood"—
> "whence the nobility of our sons came, and therewith
> precedence of their courtesy title in the world [3] !"

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[1] *Cf.* Among others the slogan of a Whiteman's Burden, "Natural Theology," "Egyptian Night" (which may be placed alongside of Tennyson's "Cycle of Cathay" or "Red fury of the Seine.")

[2] *Cf.* Bridges' War poems, his poems on English landscape or scenery and English idyllic life; also *New Poems*, No. 21.

[3] The Testament of Beauty III. 899-902. *Cf.* also stanzas 3 to 5 of Ode on the Tercentenary Commemoration of Shakespeare, 1916 (with its reference to the Great War) in *October and Other Poems* (1920). We sincerely wish we could with any show of truth subscribe to—

> "Her chains are chains of Freedom, and her bright arms
> Honour Justice and Truth and Love to man.
>
> * * *
>
> And smiting the fetters of slavery
> Made the high sea-ways safe and free
> In wisdom bidding aloud
> To world-wide brotherhood
> Till her flag was hail'd as the ensign of Liberty" etc.

It is refreshing to turn to Mr. Masefield's "*Cargoes*" with its suggestive contrast between the ancient East and the commercialised and vulgarised modern Britain. (*Salt Water Poems and Ballads*).

What follows next in this poem savours of arrogance. The East has had plenty of opportunities, given by the ruling race of Englishmen, of dispassionately subjecting their doings in lands away from their own environment and social check, to a searching analysis and criticism, which results in an estimate hardly consistent with the boastful claims thus set up, even though the East is simply full of admiration of numerous traits in cultured Englishmen of the right type.

Patriotism may, perhaps, cover a multitude of sins but we doubt if it is " sufficient " for such hasty generalisations as we painfully note in (ll. 689-698 of Book III)—

> Restless and impatient man's mind is ever in quest
> of some system or mappemond or safeguard of soul,
> and coming not at Truth—ev'n as a dry-athirst horse
> that drinketh eagerly of the first gilded puddle,—
> he espouseth delusion and sweareth fealty thereto:
> and since common conditions breed common opinion,
> nations lie fascinated in their swaddling clothes
> crampt, and atrophied with their infantile suctions ;
> so in the inmost sanctum of the Hindu mind
> a milch-cow is enshrined:[4]

That such a statement, which even a decently educated Christian missionary of to-day will think twice before giving a currency, should be made by a poet whose range of reading is astoundingly wide and who is sometimes very profound too, puzzles us. If he were alive we would have prescribed for him a short course of studies in Hindu philosophy and literature. Bridges, let us hope, is the last, as he is alas the latest, exponent of the most ridiculous attitude of ignorant Westerners towards Hindu culture and civilisation—for it will be worse than an insult to the sacred memory of a great man like him to connect his name with that of Miss Mayo. Space does not permit us

[4] The lines that follow refer to Manichees and are irrelevant to our purpose.

even to make a bare reference to the grand philosophical achievements of *the Hindu mind* accomplished *in recent days,* or to Chaitanya and the poetry of his *Bhakti* cult, to singers like Mira Bai, to the Vaisnava poetry of Vidyapati and others or to the apotheosis of Beauty and Love in Hindu poetry, discernible in our literature even so late as immediately before the days when that literature came into contact with English thought. We prefer to remain silent about recent achievements in science of the Hindu mind.

Yet Bridges can sing in a different tune regarding the Moslem prayer in a passage of great poetic beauty and large-heartedness.[5] Nay, he can speak more rationally and sympathetically about Buddhism in a fine passage (which we quote)—needlessly marred, however, by a reference to the *Suttee* :[6]

> " Leave Tigris now and Ur. Seek out our Aryan race
> by Gunga and Hydaspes in the teeming realm
> where Sakya Muni preach'd of gentleness and love,
> and took divinity before Christ came; see how
> at every Rajah's pyre, in Punjab or Kashmire,
> in Vijayanóggar, Kalikata and Udaipur,
> for livlong centuries the mild Hindus hav burnt
> their multitudinous girl-concubines alive,
> and still beneath our lax imperial rule wil deem
> any honest outlawry of their ritual Suttee
> a tyrannous impiety of our western manner;
> which none the less withheld not of our island kings
> the last Henry, styled first Defendër of the Faith
> from slaying his wives at will.[7] * *

Here too the Hindu is our poet's *bête noire*; and *any stick* will serve his purpose. We notice this aspect of the poet's mind particularly because he is singularly a man of wide culture and should have been free from this narrowness, due to ignorance.

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[5] T. B. IV. ll. 1225-1233.

[6] " Suttee," " the purdah," the immobility of the East, the tyranny of Brahminism over the depressed classes, " Caste "-system, early marriage, the girl-wife are in all conscience notorious though fast-vanishing realities, which unfortunately shallow Western minds, are far too eager to make capital of when determined on an indictment of the Asiatics. We are too ready to allow the cheap daily press to requisition them in season and out of season but like King Charles's Head they should never trouble poets of the calibre of Bridges.

[7] T. B. IV. 338-351.

"I boast not: he that knoweth not may boast" says his Prometheus (l. 418 of *Prometheus*, the Fire-giver) and we say "Amen."

By the way, the spelling of Indian place-names in line 343 shows the special care he takes to avoid the Anglo-Indian [8] style; and all the more glaring appears, therefore, the fault we have pointed out in his description of the Hindu mind. Fault-finding, as he himself says, is not criticism, yet the critic's duty, we learn from him, is to determine the proportion of the thorns to the roses and we are guilty of doing nothing more. His, however, is not as fatal an error as of being uninteresting. Possibly, we may hold further, with Mr. Robert Lynd, that this blunder of Bridges will no more affect his poetry than Froude's inaccuracies which, Mr. Lynd rightly says, are preferred by readers to the dull writings of historians who have corrected them. [9] But poetry and history are different things.

Gunga for Ganges was known to me to be Dr. Besant's trump card in many of her Benares speeches and I wonder how it has found its way into *The Testament of Beauty* (where it is ill combined with *Hydaspes*)!

"Our lax imperial rule"—is Kiplingese with a vengeance. How far "*lax*," we of the year 1930 are thoroughly realising, from Peshawar to Chittagong!

The Poetic Quality of Bridges' Works.

We return to the more pleasant task of estimating his poetry as such. The first fruit of his poetic genius was "Promětheus, the Fire-giver," suggested, very probably, by Shelley's romantic treatment of the classical theme but not, perhaps, unrelated to Mr. Nichols' "Prometheus in Piccadilly"; and the latest is "The Testament of Beauty," produced by the manner in which that genius, under the spell of modern scientific[10] investigations, reacted to the post-war *actualities* in the Western world and to his own experiences, so far as these actualities and personal experiences were assimilated in the course of a momentous decade and, finally, sought to be interpreted by his keen sensibility to them.

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[8] This reminds us of the genuine "cockneyisms" occurring in Nichols' *Prometheus in Piccadilly* as a silent protest against the bastard cockneyisms of Rudyard Kipling. It is doubly unfortunate that Bridges should have betrayed in the passage just quoted from T. B. IV. (338-351) his kinship with the nauseating Imperialism of Kipling and Newbolt.

[9] Mr. Robert Lynd's fascinating essay "In Praise of Mistakes" in *The Green Man*, pp. 20-21 (Second Edition of 1930).

This part of my study of Bridges is further narrowed into one of his art, his technique—his rich and often happy diction and highly poetic imagery, his rhythm and fine melody, and his bold experiments in versification. I shall take these items up one by one, though not in the order implied here.

The decorations or embroideries[11] that took away from the real charm and beauty of the poetry of Yeats (1899 volume and after) and Wilde have been wisely eschewed by Bridges whose successful competitor in this respect is Mr. A. E. Housman, at least in his *Shropshire Lad* (1896) and *Last Poems* (1922). Housman's *classical* taste, displayed both in selection and rejection, has a close parallel in Bridges' art and like the latter he too is a master of the appropriate use of explosive consonants (*e.g. Reveille* in *Shropshire Lad*).

The high-class art of such technicians was in part the effect of a *revived* interest in true poetry among promising and well-educated youngmen, created by 1912, which continued to develop up to 1922. This practically ousted the "prettyfying"[12] tendency complained of by Yeats which became a temporary vogue with some of the Georgians whose only care was for pretty images and "glittering toys."[13]

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[10] "Epistle I" to L. M. (called Wintry Delights) by itself is enough to demonstrate the poet's interest in science. Reference to *The Testament* is superfluous.

[11] Embroideries are, *we are told*, more common in Welsh, Icelandic, and Gaelic poetry. *Vide* Calcutta Review for March and May, 1928, for this writer's remarks on Yeats and the embroideries which came into vogue in the nineteen-nineties.

[12] *Vide Calcutta Review* for March, 1928, page 278, where I have quoted in my Yeats Essay the remark of Yeats.

We may be permitted to just mention here that though Bridges' serious composition belongs to the 20th century his poetry-writing practically began[14] with the decline of Victorian poetry when, as competent judges hold, a new turn took about 1875. Leaving out *The Testament of Beauty* which stands somewhat apart (even though we have shown its intimate connection with his earlier productions), the best poetry *quâ* poetry of Bridges may be assigned to the period 1876 to 1898 or 1900. *In spirit*, Bridges is more a Victorian[15] than a Georgian (not to speak of Edwardian). But in his technique, he broke off completely from all tradition and he made his diction specifically his own and he is a very bold experimenter in more ways than one. As an artist he makes his poetry an artistic re-interpretation of life, filled to the brim with rich contents, which attempts a somewhat philosophical reconciliation of apparent contradictions and antitheses, such as, of acceptance (say, for instance, of Plato, Aristotle, Lucretius, Dante, Wordsworth and Shelley) and challenge or interrogation, or of tradition and bold innovation. For this end he relies on Evolution (creative or 'emergent'), Continuity (as against mere flux which, however is[16] recognised), on the importance of thought and proper value of reason, the sciences (especially the biological), and latest theories and hypotheses (including those of Psychoanalysis) but mainly on reverence and[17] faith, as understood and interpreted by him. He combines, inspite of distinctions emphasised by Poe in his "The Poetic Principle," Law (or Duty) with Beauty which is a reconciliation between Wordsworth, Tennyson and Browning, on the one hand, and Shelley, Keats and Swinburne, on the other, joy with sorrow, grief and melancholy (made by him natural, tender, dignified, majestic because "the melancholy of all true poets is full of life and hope").[18] A higher result is also achieved by this unique manner of his—*viz.*, the work of Fancy is now and then lyrically presented by his rare *art* with such a delicacy and beauty and a genuine poet's response of keen sensibility as at once transforms it into the work of Imagination. This is a wonderful "sea-change."

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[13] For Rupert Brooke's disgust for the poetry of pretty *bric-à-brac* of the *nineties*, *vide* Introduction to Brooke's collected Poems by Edward Marsh. Brooke like Bridges is remarkable (especially for one at his age) for *clarity*, directness, simplicity, melody and even sustaining thought though he seems to me to be more realistic.

[14] He began verse composition in 1872-73 in right earnest.

[15] *Cf.* the pessimistic note of the Mid-Victorian era reflected in Arnold, Clough and Swinburne (not to mention Hardy) regarding Man and the human race appearing also in *Prometheus, the Firegiver* (ll. 1172-1233 Chorus). *Vide Demeter*, ll. 1056-64. The reserve and restraint of *Growth of Love* is also a concession to Victorian decorum.

[16] *Cf. Demeter*, ll. 315-16 : "Nought is new or strange in the eternal change." *Shorter Poems*, Book III. No. 6 :—

"Haste on, my joys! your treasure lies
In swift, unceasing flight."

Another illustration of this happy harmony (or reconciliation) is to be found in rare excursions into the strange and far-off world of Romanticism[19] made by a genius essentially Hellenic. He was strongly in favour (both in theory[20] and practice) of bold and unhampered experiments in verse, yet would never subscribe to the *free-verse* cult because the sense of law and *form* was too strong and abiding with him.

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[17] *Cf.*
"Then knew I the angel faith,
Who was guarding human Love."

"Hell and Hate" (comp. December, 1913) in *October and Other Poems* (1920). *Vide* also Shorter Poems, Book V, No. 9.

[18] W. P. Ker.

[19] *Cf. Prometheus, the Firegiver*, ll. 362-68; 519-35; 766-78; 813-40 (the beautiful Ode based on Wordsworth's Ode on Intimations of Immortality); 1406-12; 1465-1480.

The entire allegory of *Eros and Psyche* is a "Spenserian romance of a fairyland of myth"—of old far-off things.

The poem "A Passer-By"...(*Shorter Poems*, Bk. II, 2 Oct., Oxf. Ed., page 244); *Growth of Love*, Son. 18; *Shorter Poems*, Bk. I, 3, 14 (specially last two stanzas and the Romeo-Juliet-like 6th stanza); Bk. II, 11 (Dejection); Bk. III, 1; Bk. IV, 21 (specially last stanza), 24 and 25, 27 (stanza 2); *Later Poems*, No. 1 (para. 6); and Poems in Classical Prosody, Nos. 12, 13 and 14.

[20] *Cf.* Essay on Free Verse (Lecture delivered in 1922); No. II of Collected Essays, Papers, etc. (pub. 1925).

As distinguished from his philosophy (about which we shall presently say something) his poetry is remarkable for freshness and purity (though not intensity) of *feeling*. He clothes old things in new imagery because he sees them with Adam's vision—the unsophisticated vision of the first man. All is, as it were, novel to him and his sensitive heart "reciprocates" Nature's renewed beauty changing from year to year, season to season, day to day —nay, hour to hour. Such a poet must recapture the first fine rapture and his poetry will spontaneously flow out of the fulness of the heart, making the mouth speak and that melodiously. The mad hurry, fret and fury of modern life so trying to Arnold and Clough cannot repress this poet's joyous and imaginatively emotional way of seeing and describing everything. This *Renascence of Wonder* fills his Nature poetry with exquisite beauty and passages of haunting melody are not infrequent, though at times his verse is harsher but not more grating than Browning's. But the sound is never the sound of the crackling of thorns in a metallic pot.

Feeling in his Poetry.

Artist though he is pre-eminently, he cannot escape, however, a doom from which even Shakespeare is not altogether free—and to which Wordsworth, though one of the great poets, often fell a victim. Bridges too has given us *verse* which is prose[21] thrust into a metrical pattern and which deceives no reader.

This is a point which should not be laboured; yet I quote one example—out, of course, of many :

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[21] *Cf.* But Instinct in the beasts that live
Is of three kinds; (Nature did give
To man three shakings in her sieve)—
The first is Racial.
The second Self-preservatire
The third is Social

(Later Poems, No. 14, st. 9, page 387, Oxf. Ed. 1912.)

"Whereas the least philosophy may find
The truths are the ideas; the sole fact
Is the long story of man's growing mind"

(Later Poems, No. 13, page 382, Oxf. Ed. of Poetical Works, 1912.)

His Lyrics.

These occasional lapses enhance, by contrast, the beauty of his short lyrical pieces, remarkable as pure poetry, judged from the standpoint of diction, rhythm, melody, or even rhyme arrangement and stanza structure. One is tempted to quote whole poems but we must severely restrain ourselves and only give references.

In this group we can safely include from the *Shorter Poems in Five Books* the following :—

Bk. I, No. 1, for its varied rhythm and rhyme arrangement as well as fine nature-background; No. 2 for realistic touches, lyrical *feeling* and nature-background; No. 3 for its delicate touch of romantic sadness and personal note; No. 4 as offering us a fine Rossetti-like nature picture and 17th century "conceit" lyrically transformed, and showing the poet's characteristic reserve and restraint; No. 5 reminiscent of Wordsworth's *Green Linnet* and somewhat Rousseauistic in setting Nature against Man (but not in the manner of Shelley and Keats); No. 7 for the peculiar way in which feeling, never allowed by Bridges to get *violent* or clamorous, verges on passion;[22] No. 10 as an example of the too intellectual quality of his poetry; No. 11 for its exquisite use of the couplet in delineating his lady-love; No. 12 (also 12 of Book IV) as beautiful specimens of Bridges' Nature[23] poetry; No. 14 for its **poetic** quality, his love of music and of *romance* but specially as a convincing illustration of the manner in which by means of *repetition* of the same words or same vowel sounds he secures, like Coleridge, the charm of ravishing melodiousness (specially in the 3rd stanza) :

Book II, No. 1, for its dialogue *form* and new interpretation of the effect of Beauty as it is discerned in the ideal lady-love (*cf.* ll. 13-16 and 25-28); No. 2 reminiscent of Clough's "*Qua Cursum Ventus*" and "Where lies the land to which the ship would go?", but particularly for its genuine **poetic** [24] quality; No. 4 for its exquisite rhyme arrangement; No. 5 as a typical English landscape-painting in words, and No. 7 for combining the merits of 4, 5 and 9 and because it rivals 2 in poetic suggestiveness reminding us of the art of Keats; No. 10 as revealing the poet's zest for peace and 11 for its rich poetry; No. 12, the real nature of which is shown by the last stanza but two which we must quote—

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[22] *Cf.* Book III, No. 10.

[23] *Cf.* Book IV, 27.

"Scatter the clouds that hide
The face of heaven and show
Where sweet Peace doth abide,
Where Truth and Beauty grow."

No. 13 is specifically in Bridges' characteristic manner. In Bk. III, No. 2, realism [25] is finely used in the descriptive part, presenting a vivid snowfall in London and the rhyme words are very sonorous.

The last line of this piece with its 16 syllables beautifully illustrates Bridges' *accentual* (as opposed to syllabic) versification which runs thus :—

"At the sight of the beauty that greets them, for the charm
they have broken."

We may place by its side the last line of No. 4 which is a *representative* lyrical poem of Bridges in many ways and which appeals to us by its clarity, sincerity, freedom from embroidery or embellishment, perfection of diction, quiet tenderness melting into a delicate pensive sadness (thoroughly Miltonic), and, finally, by its suggestion of the poet's sense of mystery. A number of poets (Wordsworth, Lamb, Hood and others) have selected this touching theme of *A Dead Child*, but Bridges seems to us to outdistance them all. Let us quote the last two stanzas

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[24] *Cf.* Book III, No. 12; Book IV. 21; V. 10, 11, 12.

[25] *Cf.* Bk. IV, 27.

(which will give us, of course, the closing line too which consists of 15 pure monosyllables [26] and 5 beats).

> "So quiet! doth the change content thee?—Death,
> whither hath he taken thee?
> To a world, do I think, that rights the disaster of this?
> The vision of which I miss,
> Who weep for the body, and wish but to warm
> thee and awaken thee?
> Ah! little at best can all our hopes avail us
> To lift this sorrow, or cheer us, when in the dark,
> Unwilling, alone we embark,
> And the things we have seen and have known and
> have heard of, fail us."

This is superb in its exquisite charm. It contains depths of emotion, genuine pathos, the natural inquisitiveness of our baffled intelligence brought face to face with the supreme mystery of life and death and realisation of the nothingness of all our sense impressions.

Will any comment serve to bring out the full significance of the beautiful query—"doth the change content thee?"

For a parallel we feel we must go to the immortal bard Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*. Poems like *A Dead Child*, showing this successful innovator's masterly skill in handling novel metrical patterns, to which he is helped by the principle of substituting syllabic by accentual versification and by his unerring judgment about varied line lengths and stanza structure (which again, is made by a lawless law discerned by him to include any number of lines, suited to his purpose), determine the unique nature of Bridges' workmanship as a new *fashioner.*

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[26] *Vide* "A Miscellany", by Professor A. C. Bradley, LL.D., Litt. D. (1929), pp. 245-267, on "Monosyllabic Lines and Words in English Verse and Prose." We may refer for the magic of monosyllables to the songs of Burns. Let us also quote only one quatrain rich in Caroline nonchalance—

> "Since there's no help, come, let us kiss and part!
> Nay, I have done; you get no more of me!
> And I am glad, yea, glad with all my heart,
> That thus so cleanly I myself can free."

This raises the important question of the value of his novel experiments in versification. He uses in this poem, for example, *beats* varying from three to six as the *emotional* variation in different parts of the poem demands; yet the norm is fixed by **five** beats. If the conventional feet names of classical poetry may be used, we may say that here we meet with iambs, truncated feet of a single stressed syallable serving for iambs, in which the unaccented syllable though actually omitted to the eye of the reader is, however, present to the trained ear for verse melody, anapæsts or what we may call a newly-discovered single-syllable feet of the poet's own which occupies the same *length of time* in reading as an iamb does, by virtue of the open long vowel sound of the fitly chosen word important in the line through its *meaning* value and emphasis, as in the case of the poet's use of "*thee*" in this poem. The feminine ending in "*ing*" or in the word "beauty" produces in some lines of verse an exquisite *musical* effect. Consonants are also distributed with rare skill by the choice of happy words, which wonderfully combine sound and sense.

Sound is generally made by technicians like Tennyson, Browning or Swinburne to remarkably echo sense in many typical lines but we note here the artist's extraordinary yet very natural power of accepting as they offer themselves to him while composing verse—that is spontaneously embodying in words what the aesthetic personal experience feels—only those words which contain in their letter collocation a harmony of sound and sense. We can easily illustrate this aspect of a true poet's genuine art by quoting almost at random verses of Shelley or Swinburne, space alone permitting. But space is inexorable and we have to desist. Our readers who enjoy poetry as it should be enjoyed, will supply the lacuna. We simply mention that the *repetition* (repetition of apt sounds be it as alliteration, assonance, or something like them) of "*p*," "*b*," "*f*," "*v*", "*b*," "*d*," "*t*";

and of "*l*," "*m*," "*n*" ;—in which most of the words occurring in the piece are so rich, and their unanalysable *distribution* in the verses as they follow one after another, and of such letter combinations (for their *sound* value alone) as "tl," "lt," "st," "ld," "bl," "ch," "th," "ng," "rt," "dr," followed by an "s," "pr," "rn," "sp," "nd," and other repetitions yielding *internal* rhymes, as in "the grasp in the clasp" (l.14), "still they will" (l.16), produce a ravishing music that must take the dullest ear by agreeable surprise—of even readers, who are, according to Shakespeare, men never to be trusted, being "fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils" alone. "Such harmony is, indeed, in immortal" sounds—sounds of music that unawares "creep in our ears, nay, penetrate into our very souls, where there must be chords of harmony ever attuned to the harmonies that exist outside us," through our senses as the immortal *Vidyapati*, the famous singer of Bengal, has taught the world, which is qualified to know such things, even though that matchless lyrist's was nothing better than a *Hindu mind !* The Hindu mind we are sorry to have to reiterate is capable of grasping more things than are dreamt of in the Westerner's—specially self-complacent Britisher's—imperialistic philosophy.

A word of apology. We have sinned, knowing fully what we do—we have analysed the music of poetry ! The critic, willy-nilly, "must murder to dissect." Our apology has, however, a double force, since the poet, with whom we have taken such liberty, in *The Testament of Beauty*, at any rate, does appear to botanize over his mother's grave, by giving to the *sciences* the dominance in poetry they actually have in his last or new testament, left as his dying and sacred gift to all lovers of good poetry, remarkable more for sound technique than sound philosophy of life, though we do not belittle the poet's philosophy to which we propose next to address ourselves.

Poe, in his essay on " The Poetic Principle," goes so far as to define poetry as the Rhythmical Creation of Beauty.

When the soul, he holds, struggles under the influence of the Poetic Sentiment which inspires it, it achieves the creation of supernal Beauty—supernal, because, the transient beauty resulting from the objects of sense that please us, is not recognised by Poe as of great importance. The soul pursues "that Loveliness whose very elements perhaps appertain to eternity alone." This, after all, is Shelley over again—or, to be more precise, Plato as interpreted by Shelley.

In Book III, No. 13, Joy[27] is identified with Life, and Love with God; and No. 15 is prominent as an instance of Bridges' highly artistic poetry of love.[28] In 19, love and beauty are identified.

Book IV, No. 8, illustrates the simple and sincere work of a perfect artist, who alone knows how to draw a satisfying picture in miniature and it may be compared with No. 14. No. 15 is an exquisite *flower* lyric. No. 18 is remarkable for its rhythmic movement. No. 25 is a fine instance of self-portraiture which makes us realise, as Blake's poetry does, the poet's isolation and divine discontent.

In Book V, we have his typical imagery in No. 8 (Asian Birds) in such lines as—

"He flew a flame against the blue;"

he speaks of the delicious notes bubbling from the birds' throats in which our poet describes the yellow bird; and we are made to visualize

"Full and sweet how they are shed;
Like round pearls from a thread!"

Again, we read, in Shelley's typical manner,—

"The motions of their flight
Are wishes of delight."

"Nightingales" (No. 12) gives us the poet's conception of song—

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[27] *Cf.* Book IV, 24.

[28] *Cf.* Book IV, Nos. 10, 11, 16.

" Our song is the voice of desire, that haunts our dreams,
A throe of the heart,
Whose pining visions dim, forbidden hopes profound,
No dying cadence nor long sigh can sound,
For all our art."

Here we feel that the characteristics of Yeats and (his master) Shelley have penetrated deep into the artistic soul of one who inspite of his *sturdy individuality* allowed himself to be moulded by his predecessors and contemporaries with the liberality of a cultured man's rare power of assimilating all that is best and sweetest. Yeatsian in *form* is also the poem "Anniversary" (in *New Poems*).

One typical specimen piece of the peculiar lyric quality of Bridges, written in his unique manner, must be given in whole; and from among several characteristic poems we choose the following :—

" My spirit kisseth thine,
My spirit embraceth thee:
I feel thy being twine
Her graces over me,

In the life-kindling fold
Of God's breath; where on high,
In furthest space untold
Like a lost world I lie:

And o'er my dreaming plains
Lightens, most pale and fair,
A moon that never wanes;
Or more, if I compare,

Like what the shepherd sees
On late mid-winter dawns,
When thro' the branchèd trees,
O'er the white frosted lawns,

The huge unclouded sun,
Surprising the world whist,
Is all uprisen thereon,
Golden with melting mist."

(*Shorter Poems, Book IV. No. 28.*)

Comparable with such beautiful lyrics is No. 5 of Book V (on first love and last).

Artistic Form showing continuity of Growth.

In showing continuity of the poet's mind we confined ourselves to the presence in his earlier works of *ideas* which constitute the main part of the substance of his *Testament of Beauty* and had to give a summary of the argument of that piece.[29] But a "poem does not live in its argument merely, but in every single phrase and word and rhyme." [30] In illustrating the same continuity (with, of course, necessary development) of his **art** we have next to consider his diction, melody and rhythm (for rhyme is usually discarded by this innovator in his later productions *i.e.*, after 1919-20).

Poetic Form.

This necessitates a word or two on the poetic *form* or the mould into which the poet's thought and language are cast. This word, as the late Professor Ker has in his admirable manner shown, admits of a variety of interpretations. Professor Ker goes so far as to assert that a poet, *formerly*, had a devotion to an ideal form—he was an "adventurer trying to capture the ideal beauty, to gain perfection that no poet on earth had hitherto realised." Such, he avers, was the case with Milton pre-eminently ; and we bear in mind that Milton was in a variety of ways the exemplar of Bridges.

As regards "form" in its common signification of "metrical pattern," [31] we have what must be called a very "composite" form in Bridges' Masks, but this pattern changes as we pass to his elegies, odes and other lyrics. The narratives have, necessarily, an intermediate type of their own. Rhythm, according to Bridges' Lecture on *The Necessity of Poetry* (pages 25 and 30), is infinite and the rhythms selected should be congenial to the sense, Metre is produced by repetition of the selected rhythm. But the fundamental motive of our pleasure in beauty may be described as a balancing of the expected (as a soothing principle) and the unexpected (as a stimulating principle) where the expected are the norm and the unexpected, departures from the norm. This amounts to a balance between the fixed type and the freedom of *variations*. This pattern chiefly distinguishes the rhythm of verse from that of prose, and, to some extent, genuine poetry from poetic prose. In English poetry Iambic Pentameter is the commonest and most constant or formal *pattern*, it is the norm of versification.

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[29] *Vide* Calcutta Review for July, 1930.

[30] W. P. Ker.

[31] *Cf.* Bridges' "The Necessity of Poetry " (1917), page 29. " The common explanation," says he, "of the metrical charm is, I believe, the love of patterns, and it is true that metrical poems can all be well considered as word-patterns." No. 14 (to Robert Burns : An Epistle on Instinct) of *Later Poems* is an apt example of rhyme pattern.

But poetical form, in its other sense, is what makes each individual poem something *sui generis*. "Form in poetry is an essential part of its beauty." [32] This is specially true of *The Testament of Beauty* which is so easily distinguished, for example, from the *Prelude*, even though they share in a way a common aim.

Melody.

As for melody, Bridges' prosody may, in Prof. Ker's language, be called the "shadowy bodiless music in the mind of the poet before the poem is made." This in a way answers to Miss K. M. Wilson's "subconscious melody" theory advanced in her *Real Rhythm in English Poetry*. Our emphasis in this part of our study of the *poetry* of Bridges must, of course, be on his *quality as a maker*, a *fashioner* (as distinct from a seer, and independent thinker of new semi-scientific and semi-religious thoughts, inspite of his acknowledged indebtedness to Plato, Aristotle, Lucretius and Dante, and possibly, to Shelley).

In poetry of the first order, the definite relation of thought to form must be close and intimate;—the two being inseparable. There is something marvellous in Bridges' artistic excellence, yet we are hardly inclined to say that like Lucretius, Dante or even Shelley, he can "heat up his prosaic argument for poetry,"[33] that he can "turn the merest slag and clinker of prose into pure flame."[33] Occasionally there is, no doubt, almost a perfect fusion, in which no hard unsubduable grit of prosaic-scientific thought gives the appreciative poetry-lover an unpleasant sensation or a shock. But passages (not altogether few and far between in *the Testament*) can easily be cited totally untouched by any emotional fervour or even iridescent imaginative glow, so characteristic of Shelley, whose imagery often scintillates. This remark is meant to apply specially to Bridges' longer pieces interspersed with lyricism.[34]

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[32] "About English Poetry" by Mr. G. F. Bradby (Oxf. Un. Pr., 1929), page 7.

Poetry—pure and simple.

His pure lyrics—and they are numerous[35]—possess the *poetic* quality in a large measure though there is something decidedly *individual* in this quality of his poetry.

Lyricism: his characteristic manner.

Even into poems not expressly lyrical, lyricism often enters in the shape of the poet's *personal*[36] note—a note of absolute sincerity and poetical ease. Though anything but a Romantic poet, like the poets of early nineteenth century, Bridges is as full of self-portraiture and even here and there of self-confession as the sublimely egotistic Wordsworth, the intensely emotional Shelley, the sentimental Byron or self-revealing aesthetic Keats. But Bridges is here suggestively free from the morbid self-consciousness of the Romantics of the early nineteenth century. This characteristic we note also in his essays and addresses as well as in the classical prosodic experiments. It shows his thorough discipline, his *training* and spirit of exploration of new and yet appropriate and adequate verse-medium for his *complex* matter, which by its very nature demanded a *composite* style or manner.

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[33] W. P. Ker's choice expressions in *Form and Style in Poetry* (edited by Mr. R W. Chambers (1928). "Words have an emotional and imaginative, as well as an intellectual context ** Though dealing with facts and concerned with truth" poetry has to do with truth "carried alive into the heart by passion," says Professor Lowes.

[34] Such modern specimens suggest a very remote parallelism with the Pindaric Odes as contrasted with the relics of Alcœus or Sappho.

[35] Vide *Shorter Poems.*

[36] Bridges' poetical works have abundance of personal notes in them and we cannot even attempt to give exhaustive references. We shall just mention the pages of the Oxford Edition of his *Poetical Works* in one volume (1912) where instances may be found, at pp. 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 237, 241, 244, 245, 246-247, 250, 251, 253, 254, 256-57, 258-60, 263, 264, 266-67, 268-69, 270-71, 272, 273, 274, 276, 277, 278, 279, 281, 282,, 283, 286, 287, 289, 290-91, 293, 294, 296-97, 298-99, 300, 301-303, 305, 308, 309, 311-12, 316, 320, 368 [*Shorter Poems*]. Similar is the case with his *New* and *Later Poems.* His Eton days and Bartholomew experiences are definitely mentioned at pp. 421 and 419 respectively.

"Kate's Mother" in *New Verse* (ll. 27-38 particularly) is autobiography. So also "Melancholy," "The Great Elm," "The Sleeping Mansion," "Vision," "A Dream" in the same volume. This volume contains also "College Garden."

Variety of Forms.

The ballad form is often appropriated by Bridges to his special purpose. Then comes the lyricized narrative. We have mentioned his Masks. Shorter lyrics varied in stanza structure, rhyme formula, rhythm movement, and line length, are numerous. Odes and Elegies have been successfully composed. Finally, we have his classical experiments which competent authorities consider to have many false quantities and which, apart from their metrical form, hardly commend themselves to us as genuine poetry. He also tried his hand on Scazons, Triolets, etc., to show his pridilection for "exotics," which many of his contemporaries in vain attempted to transplant on the English soil. A word on this topic will later on be necessary.

His Dramatic Attempts.

Did this master-artist detect with his carefully disciplined artistic temper and unerring skill that the dramatic manner adopted by him was *over-studied* even in its "classical tone"? He, at any rate, abandons the dramatic method of treatment in his (composite) long narrative pieces as contrasted with Mr. Nichols in his *Prometheus in Piccadilly*. Moreover, his classicism itself is too reflective to be the true-born classical mode, being tinged with the romantic element of subjectivism,[37] which does interfere with a truly dramatic detachment, as is the case, more or less, with Browning, except when Browning rests content with dramatic monologues or "persons" merely. Yet the late Poet Laureate's dramatic experiments matured his genius and art, as the prose controversies of Milton matured him for his *Paradise Lost.*

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[37] This is evident even in his Masks.

Stages in the growth of his art.

In the middle period of his poetic growth lyricism noticeably gains supremacy as is evidenced by his numerous short poems, songs, elegies, dirges, eclogues, idylls, odes, hymns, dialogues and epistles in verse, vignettes and imitations of French forms like the triolet, rondeau,[38] etc.

Many of his shorter poems bear witness to his great love of music[39] showing his affinity with Browning.

Another kind of affinity was responsible for his attempts to reproduce some of the fascinating eccentricities of Tudor and Jacobean poets. As typical examples of successful imitations we may allude to pieces like, "The Ciff-Top" of Book I,—No. 4 of *Shorter Poems* (specially st. 6); also Nos. 6 and 8; Nos. 16 (song), 17 (with its noteworthy rhyme formula) of Book III; Nos. 7, 14, 22 (in particular), and 26 of Book IV; *New Poems,* Nos. 8, 18 (Wishes), 19 (A Love Lyric), and 20 (Eros); *Later Poems* No. 6 (Vivamus) and No. 8 which is charmingly exquisite as a short lyric, suggesting more than describing the statuesque beauty of his lady-love by means of imagery perilously like the fine conceits of 17th century love-lyrists, minus their fancy-free nonchalance due to superficiality of emotion. Here the emotion is more deep than fervent. The diction is remarkably simple yet sweet and the rhythm almost perfect. I omit on purpose all mention of Milton because that poet's influence appears to me to be ubiquitous.

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[38] *Vide* Poetical Works in one volume (Oxf. Ed., 1912).

[39] *Cf.* "Turn our thought for awhile to the symphonies of Beethoven,
Or the rever'd preludes of mighty Sebastian ?" etc.

[Poems in Classical Prosody I. Epistle I to L.M.. Wintry Delights, page 423 Oxf. Ed.]; An Ode Written for Music called A Hymn of Nature [Later Poems, No. 19,] or the previous one (No. 18) called Ode to Music; No. 11 of Later Poems to Joseph Joachim; New Poems, No. 28, "Regina Cara, Jubilee-song, for Music. 1897."

One wonders how and why such a careful artist as Bridges, so powerfully influenced by Milton's supreme skill in verse music and grand style, should give us such a *bad imitation* of that great poet in the following lines, while speaking of the affinity of Poetry with Music, in a fine Ode which captures Milton's melody and diction wonderfully in ll. 24-30 (or even in ll. 31-36) :—

> "Or in some walled orchard nook
> She communes with her ancient book,
> Beneath the branches laden low;
> While the high sun o'er bosom'd snow
> Smiteth all day the long hill-side
> With ripening cornfields waving wild."

(*Later Poems*, page 396, Oxf. Ed.)

In many pieces we detect echoes of other poets, though such parallelisms do not establish anything more than an *unconscious* borrowing. Browning's characteristic ideas or manner are stamped on No. 19 of Book III, and Shelley's on No. 9 of *New Poems*, the 4th stanza of which is in sharp contrast with Wordsworth's *Ode to Duty*, which piece is suggested, however, by *New Poems*, No. 22; Blake's on No. 2 of Book IV of *Shorter Poems*, Coleridge's on No. 4 of Book IV (*ibid*) and Tennyson's on No. 11 of *New Poems*, Spenser's on No. 4 of Book V (Shorter Poems) and Arnold's on No. 11 (New Poems).

But his "Larks" (No. 6 of Book V) is in sharp contrast with the bird lyrics of Wordsworth, Shelley and Keats, just as his "Nightingales" has little in common with Keats' poem on the same theme, or his "North Wind in October" with Shelley's "Ode to the West Wind" and his "The South Wind" with Shelley's "Cloud" (even though like

Shelley he is here his own myth-maker). In verse pattern this poem of Bridges reproduces the pattern of Milton's *Lycidas*, both being based on the Italian model.

"A Vignette" (Later Poems, No. 4) recalls Landor, exactly as Eros (New Poems, No. 20) stanza 1, does Rossetti. "Millicent" (Later Poems, No. 5) with its exquisite and unobtrusive domestic note reminds us of Wordsworth's "She was a phantom of delight." The little piece *Dirge* (Later Poems, No. 18, Ode to Music, section VII), in its part numbered 2, is downright Swinburne, regarding man and his fate ; and No. 19 (A Hymn of Nature) reproduces Shelley's very phraseology as applied to transfigured Asia, styled by the Voice singing in the air (Act II, sc. v of *Prometheus Unbound*)—"Life of Life!" In Bridges too we have "Life of life is thy being" (l. 5).

The Real Meaning of some of these varieties.

Even Pope is requisitioned in such a piece as *La Gloire de Voltaire* (Later Poems, No. 13) where in Pope's manner Pilate is made to rub shoulders with Tom Thumb. We propose to bring to a close this topic by quoting, by way of our conclusion and comment, two lines, which may not inaptly characterize this side of Bridges' poetical efforts, *viz.*,—

> "Shall we conclude his merit was his wit,
> His magic art and versatility?"

Versatility, if not originality, is exemplified by the piece "Screaming Tarn" (*New Poems*) which, though reminiscent of Wordsworth's "Hart Leap Well," is in essence a Coleridgian ballad notable for its weird atmosphere.

But the *New Verse* volume (pub. 1925) marks a definite change. Here he is more idyllic and the narrative or descriptive form seems to have particularly commended itself to him. His last production (*The Testament of Beauty*) profits by the self-knowledge thus gained by the poet as an artist who ultimately discovers his appropriate "form."

Rhythm.

If it be correct to hold with Miss Wilson[40] that "we work rhythmically when our overseer mind is free-wheeling" and that "only when the conscious direction of the mind starts do we become unrhythmic," because, "reason, intellect upsets rhythm," we can easily understand Bridges' preference for "an irregularly accented rhythm" to which music tends the more when "the more the emotion of music is of the sort that appeals to the understanding." "These with predominating intellect," she says, "tend to write difficult rhythms."[41]

And some of Bridges' rhythms are difficult, specially when he is less emotional than intellectual. This may be well illustrated from his *Testament.* Rhythm as a passive experience—as of the *reader* of poetry—so far as it depends on the attention span, is apprehended by us as time divided into regular intervals only when our attention is much relaxed. Therefore even in the matter of our enjoyment of the melody of Bridges' poetry some obstacle has to be overcome, because his *intellectual* mode of presenting emotion and the *form* of discussion which his thought movement oftener than not assumes in *The Testament,* make too constant and continuous a demand upon our attention to follow his meaning to afford us the relaxation needed for enjoyment of his poetry *as music.*

Such, for instance, is not the case with Keats, Swinburne, or Yeats, not to speak of Burns. Even Spenser, Tennyson, nay, Browning when he is richly melodious, do not tax us so heavily. Personally, I have felt that a sort of artificially trained sense of melody has to be created in order to fully enjoy the music of Bridges' latest poetry, which may read to lovers of Swinburne or Yeats more as a highly metaphysical or scientific discussion in verse, relieved every now and then by beautiful poetic passages rich in verbal sweetness. After all, these latter are to such readers like oases in a desert—only they are not few and far between. May it not be that (*psychologically*) this phenomenon of our attention span has much to do with the relish with which we do enjoy the beauty of Bridges' melodious *single* lines in which *The Testament* remarkably abounds and in which we notice also that the latter part of the line happens to be more rhythmic than the beginning?

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[40] "The Real Rhythm in English Poetry" by Miss Katharine M. Wilson, M.A. Ph.D. (Cantab,).

[41] *Ibid.*

One or two quotations must be made:—

" a winter rose-bed
burst into crowded holiday of scent and bloom" (I. 43)

"as rye courteseying in array to the breeze of May (*Ibid*, 301)

"where plunging down the rocks they swam in the salt sea" (*Ibid*, 506)

"while loud and louder thro' the dazed head of the Sphinx
the old lion's voice roareth o'er all the lands" (*Ibid*, 789-90).

"and with rich thought atone the melancholy of doom" (II. 660)

" the empty mind may float
lightly in the full moonshine of o'erblown affluence" (III. 54-55)

"the starry plenitude of his radiant soul" (III. 229)

"at the still hour of dawn which is holier than the day" (III. 232)

" and in the whirr of its multitudinous hurry
it hummeth like the bee, a warm industrious boom
that comforteth the farm, and spreadeth far afield
with throbbing power; as when in a cathedral awhile
the great diapason speaketh, and the painted saints
feel their glass canopies flutter in the heav'nward prayer"
(III. 379-84.)

Here we have quoted *six* consecutive lines—each of which lends support to us—which by their cumulative effect enable us the better to realise the quality of the poet's music, besides showing the Miltonic ring in the last three of these six lines.

How exquisite is the music of these rhythmical verses can hardly be shown by any analysis but is sure to be felt and enjoyed by every reader with an ear for rich melodious lines. Other instances are :—

> "and for immortal Roses desireth increase" (III. 439)

which, again, is reminiscent of Shakespeare's Sonnets ;

> "an inextinguishable poean of battle and blood"—

(III. 514—where the Shelleyan combination of *blood and gold* re-appears with a slight alteration).

> "A sudden eruption of nature, as when earth quaketh
> and faltering along the edges of its wrinkling shell
> the mountains roar and crack, and vent their ruddy bowels
> in spume of molten lava * * * "
> (*Ibid*, 515-18.)

In this case we choose 4 consecutive lines to place them side by side with Milton's—

> "as when the force
> Of subterranean wind transports a hill
> Torn from Pelorus, or the shatter'd side
> Of thundering Aetna, whose combustible
> And fuel'd entrails thence conceiving fire,
> Sublim'd with mineral fury, aid the winds
> And leave a singed bottom all involv'd
> With stench and smoke."
> (Paradise Lost, Book I.)

If comparisons are "odorous," comments on these passages might be worse and we, therefore, leave it at that.

To proceed with quotations (of single lines)—

> " the sculptor's thought of beauty loometh into shape" (*Ibid*, 637).

But such rhythmical movements as we detect in—

> " the fine-measured motions
> of immeasurable emotion" (*Ibid*, 771-72)—

strike us as examples of *overdone* poetic manner degenerating into mannerism in spite of their sweetness. "The twin persistent semitones of my Grand Chant" (l. 940) :—this is good but it is preceded by a couple of lines which, again, show how. our poet cannot resist the temptation of a, *studied* effect. We quote six lines (ll. 335-40) together, including this beautiful example of his rhythm :—

> "so that whether it be starch, oil, sugar, or alcohol
> 'tis ever our old customers, carbon and hydrogen,
> pirouetting with oxygen in their morris antics;
> the chemist booketh all of them as CHO,
> and his art is as mine, when I figurate
> the twin persistent semitones [42] of my Grand Chant."

We thought it was only Browning who revelled in such "antics." Perhaps such poetry consoles the out and out *realists* of to-day, but we happen to incorrigibly belong to the old order, which, to our mind, rightly refuses to yield place to the new and yet does not corrupt the world of appreciative lovers of poetry. By a strange irony line 941 begins with—"And 'twas but bookish,"—surely thus furnishing us with an apt expression, by a happy freak of unconscious self-criticism by poets, to apply it to the writer himself. But this by the way ; for, our remark does not strictly belong to the question of Bridges' rhythms.

Though not aiming at an exhaustive list of quotations we want to add a few more illustrations of rhythmic lines from the 4th Book of the poem :—

> "The loved and loveable whose names liv evermore" (239),
> "At the unsearchable immensities of Goddes[43] realm" (673),

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[42] Tone in the rhythm of poetry may correspond to tune in music but mere combination of loud or low tone rhythm, quick or slow, may not produce *tune* which grows out of rhythm but is a thing apart. For a thorough discussion of this vexed question we can only refer our readers to Saintsbury and Omond *versus* Mr. Thompson and Misses Dabney and Wilson.

[43] *Cf.* his other Chaucerian happy imitations like "Goddes grace" (already quoted at page 113 of Calcutta Review for July), "birdes," Goddes best gifts (III. 323). His choice of these obsolete forms is due, perhaps, to his own way of avoiding the commonplace by the selection of more *melodious* forms.

"For my tale was my dream and my dream the telling" (1297)

"where some poet long since
sang his throbbing passion to immortal sleep." (1349-50).

The *New Verse* volume (1925) too can furnish us with appropriate materials and we take only one or two instances out of a large number. Before doing so, we may be allowed to offer one critical comment on the use of Alexandrine by Bridges and Shelley. It is simply this. Does any admirer of the late Laureate claim that his Alexandrines, *loose* or regular—we have both the varieties in plenty in Bridges' poetry—have the Shelleyian *haunting* swing of melody? We shall quote one line each, for the present, representative of the two poets for a comparison and rest content, because space permits no elaborate treatment of this tempting topic.

" Feel their glass canopies flutter in the heavenward prayer,"

Or, to get rid of the extra syllable, the line—

"'twas the sheaves on its tongue; while the grain runneth out,"

Or, the more "cadenced" line—

"clicketeth in heartless mockery of swoon and sweat."

This is Bridges nearly at his best. Now turn for a moment to Shelley's wonderfully musical handling of the heavy beat of the Alexandrine in such a line as—

"And singing still dost soar, and soaring ever singest,"[44]

and note the effect. Milton, Browning and Bridges, among English poets, are notable as masters of verse melody as well as *music* proper; yet Shelley hardly lags behind them in his happy unconscious hits, when he now and then writes as if he were a "*musical* prosodian" by training.

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[44] *The Testament of Beauty*, Book III, ll. 384, 378 and 371, respectively and Shelley's *Skylark*, l. 10.

The very Preface of *New Verse* admits that the poems represent a "distracting variety of moods and measures," and are composed in neo-Miltonic syllabics and "offer their true desideratum to advocates of free verse," so far as Part I goes (*i.e.*, pieces written in the later manner of 1921). These are full of peculiarities called by the poet himself "incongruities." We have here a number of words selected for their *sounds* and ending in "ing" such as idling, reading, burgeoning, thronging, springing (a curious collocation) hasting, leaping, morning, indulging, dallying, etc. (at the beginning of lines), long open vowels, explosive consonants like M, T, B, D, and a fine example of sound wedded to sense in Ll. 30-35 of the opening poem, Cheddar Pinks):—

> " Reading an old poet
> while the busy world
> toil'd moil'd fussed and scurried
> worried, bought and sold
> plotted stole and quarell'd
> fought and God knows what."

The diction is mainly monosyllabic, clear and simple, and the lines run-on.

Innumerable passages of *musical verse* occur in *the Testament of Beauty* where, it appears to us, the mere *sounds* of words must have determined the poet's choice of them, irrespective of their sense value. We shall quote *only* a single instance (from Book II) :—

> " Parisian vanity reposeth thus to-day
> on Buonaparte's fame; for Alexander and he
> are kings of kings and lords of lords, the conquerors
> of conquerors all; dwarfing rude rivals whensoe'er,
> Alaric, Tamurlane, Attila and Zingis Khan,
> once names of terror and furious bombast, foremost men
> humbled, as were the seventy kings who with their thumbs
> and their great toes cut off, fingered the crumbs" *etc.* (ll. 603-610).

In *Poor Poll* (poem No. 2) the syllables are 12 to 13 in a line as in hexameter; but peculiarity of rhythm is noticeable specially because of skilful *pause variation*. As in Anglo-Saxon poetry or in Spenser, Shelley, Tennyson and Browning suggestive compounds are dexterously used. His characteristic mannerism is illustrated by l. 33—

> "That dry whistling, shrieking, tearing, cutting pincer."

Unrhymed, *uncapitalled,* unpunctuated lines like these must have once given much trouble to those who *read* (with the eye) his poetry silently. Practically, here is an epistle in *verse libre* which humorously refers to "fair Hellenic art"—hackneyed Greek tags, 'affected' so much by schoolmasters, being requisitioned. "Iambic, Scazon and Alexandrine, Spondee or Choriamb," the poet regretfully adds, are all alike to the bird.

Ll. 19-36, almost as melodious as Tennyson's verse, of *The Tapestry* (No. 3) achieve a painting in words richer than Rossetti's, followed by Browning's manner, represented by ll. 38 to 90, but specially 38 to 47. Colour too is dominant. We can only quote here, out of this long passage, one or two *single lines* illustrative of the poet's rhythm :—

> "Then one flame-yellow streak pierced thru' the molten bronze";

and,

> "The orb with slow surprise surged, till his whole blank blaze
> Dispell'd from out his path all colour—and Day began."[45]

His Landscapes.

The idyllic *Kate's Mother* satisfies Simonides' definition of poetry, presenting, in simple yet sweet language full of music, the life of the common folk in a quiet country-home—neat, snug, healthy, sweet and hospitable. Wordsworth and Tennyson are his models.

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[45] Ll. 30 and 32-33.

Bridges' fine landscapes[46] possess the charm of Chinese or Japanese painting, while presenting beautifully to the reader's eye

> "The very England herself as he grew to love her
> —as any manchild loveth looking on beauty—
> England in the peace and delight of her glory,
> beneath the summer sun in the wild-roving wind
> the nightly fans hurtling steadily above me as there
> Nature flooded my heart in unseizable dream." (Ll. 21-26.)

There is a touch of Oriental decorative art in such landscape painting and it is remarkable for the type of individuality found in Chinese painting of the Tang School, which combined Taoism with the influence of the Sung-period Zen-self-consciousness. Zen in the East, like the occidental Liebnitz, whose influence is so marked on Wordsworth's representation of a harmony between Man and Nature, made man and nature sympathetic to each other long before Rousseau or even Swedenborg (with his mystical theory of correspondences). And Zen was in favour of presentation of life in full play and may be said to correspond to the Renaissance humanism minus its paganism. Just as in painting the *line*, as part of drawing and design, " becomes the primary medium for representation," so even in poetry, where spacing is reduced to rhythmic units, a single line of verse may represent the poet's art. This is why we specially refer to and illustrate Bridges' artistic workmanship by dwelling at some length on this characteristic. Only so far as *The Testament* is concerned there is a tinge of pedantry here and there which swallows up plain beauty as in the case of the literary man's art—as in the Chinese Reromin—called *bunjinga.* But in his early poetry Bridges is " a singer whom country joys enthral " (l. 5 of *To Francis Jammes*).

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[46] *Cf.* also *Shorter Poems* Oxf. Edn.), Book II, Nos. 5, 7, 8, 10 (stanza 3); Book III, No. 2 (London Snow), 7 (Indolence); Book IV, No. 5 (Last Week of February, 1890), 6 (April, 1885), 8, 12, 13, 20, 21, 28; Book V, Nos. 1, 4 (The Garden in September), 7, 9 (January) 13 (specially stanzas 2 to 5 and 7), 17; *New Poems*, Ecl. I, No. 4 (st. 2), 10, 12, 14 (November), 15 (realistic delineation of Winter Night-fall), 23 (The Idle Flowers), 24 (Dunstone Hill).

Rhyme.

Rhyme is admitted into some of the pieces such as (No. 10),[47] *Buch Der Lieder*, which is in Alexandrine disguised as quatrain structure. We flatten out stanza three and show the rhythm and rhyme—

> Like fresh leaves of the woodland whose trembling screens would house
> The wanton birdies courting upon the springing boughs?

This poem has a charming song-melody. Such is (No. 11) "Emily Bronte" too. Here "breast" rhymes with "Christ"!

No. 14, *The Sleeping Mansion*, with its 4-beat, accentual,[48] ballad metre offers us a new "pattern" being *syllabically* longer (practically of 12-syllable lines). The 5th stanza deserves quoting for its beautiful rhythm—

> "And to that slumbering mansion
> Was I come as a dream,
> To cheer her in stupor
> And loneliness extreme."

> "The car restling swiftly along the village lane"—

introduces too realistically a modern item.

Occasionally Bridges leaves us in doubt as to what is referred to. Does "her" in this poem mean the inmate or the mansion? Bridges seems to delight in mystification. The last piece (Translation from Sappho) too leaves us in uncertainty about its real purport. Similarly, in the second half of *Growth of Love*, doubt is more conspicuous than the subjective note so dominant in the sonnets 1 to 21, and we know not for certain as to who is really addressed in sonnet 25. Yet he tells us in *Shorter Poems* (I. 13, page 237, Oxf. Edn.)

> "I told my secret out,
> That none might be in doubt."

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[47] *Cf.* also Nos. VIII, IX, and XI to XXIII.

[48] *Cf. New Poems*, No. 5 (page 335, Oxf. Edn.).

In (No. 15) *Vision,* which has a Tennysonian ring, we stumble on prose and know not how to scan the 6th line—'Thy loyalty, have been given in vain.'[49]

Low Barometer (No. 16), remarkable for his new diction, realism, use of "explosives" and his rhyme-arrangement, offers a stanza (the 6th) which in its scansion leaves some doubt in our mind. Is it correct to rewrite[50] his verse thus ?

"Sóme have séen córpses lóng intérr'd
Escápe from hállowing contról
Pále chárnel fórms—nay év'n have héard
The shrílling óf a tróubled sóul."

In a mood of humorous relaxation he indulges in a colloquial vein in the song (No. 23) *Simpkin* which captivates us with its 17th century lighter movement of a merry *jeu d'sprit,* noted for its jolly, rollicking and bantering tone. The rhythm here is quite appropriate. Goldsmith is occasionally a happy master of such beautiful, funny and tiny things.

The rhythm of (No. 17) *A Dream* (composed 1921), matches its slangy style and is fit for the satirical and humorous fling at the decadent poets of the "yellow nineties." Browning's rapid rhythm movement is reproduced in (No. 18), *To His Excellency,* with its happy humorous banter at German Uhlans in sharp contrast with Tennyson's mad fury against the French, and Kipling's offensive exclusiveness of the burden-shouldering white men.

The lilt of rollicking verse makes *Hodge* (No. 20) a fine War-time ballad. It has a reference to the aeroplane.

In the *New Verse* volume are some poems written in his later style and we shall next take a few examples from this group to illustrate his diction, imagery, rhythm, melody and versification in general.

(*To be continued.*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

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[49] The ultra-modernist may frown and ask—"But who wants you to revive that antiquated habit?"

[50] This, of course, is tentative.

Reviews

The Real Rhythm in English Poetry—by Katherine M. Wilson, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Aberdeen University Press (published, October, 1929, Price 7s·6*d*.).

This is a valuable contribution, made by a writer who has already made her mark by her " Sound and Meaning in English Poetry " in 2 Books, to the study of a technical subject which has of late attracted much attention and on which the present writer has something really original to offer to those interested in the question, rather by way of a challenge to the old school of prosodic study. Miss Wilson professes to be one of the " musical prosodians " and her challenge is mainly aimed at no less an authority than Professor Saintsbury, whom she rather curtly characterizes as the champion of a " dead prosody." But is it really dead? To-day nothing but " new " things—new women, new morality, new psychology, to name only a few—are apparently alive. She complains that the Professor's attitude to prosodians of her class " is difficult to understand." Possibly. Yet Miss Wilson shows that she understands it but too well.

Saintsbury's dictatorial manner, more offensive than Dr. Johnson's, may have irritated Miss Wilson. She cannot resist the temptation to peremptorily fling back the Professor's charge of *impertinence* against those who, like her, "use musical symbols to scan." Here is tit for tat with a vengeance. She humorously takes us into her confidence by declaring that she proposes to drag us into " a highly-peppered atmosphere " and we at once realise her refreshing candour! Her plea is, however, for " toleration " as she disclaims all superiority for her method.

There is a good deal of controversial matter in her five chapters and the two Appendices are full of valuable information. Very pertinently this writer observes that most of the quarrels in prosody result not so much from reading or hearing differently as "from labelling sensations differently—the difficulty lies less in hearing aright than in analysing and knowing what one does hear." That is the crux of the whole problem.

We have nothing but grateful appreciation of a number of highly illuminating or suggestive observations made by Miss Wilson but feel obliged to say that she is not altogether unbiassed against " the orthodox prosodic world." We even doubt if, indeed, Professor Saintsbury has been justly censured over his "meaning," which appears to us to have been slightly distorted by his antagonist too eager to score a point at his expense, of "*triple*," regarding anapæsts and dactyls. We do not propose, nor feel called upon, to enter into details of a much-vexed controversy but just cite one relevant instance. In a short review we have a legitimate right to leave, for example, "meta-prosody" severely alone. We cheerfully hasten to add that "The Real Rhythm" is to us a penetrating study demanding from the writer and her readers specialised knowledge and that in breaking what is practically in a way new ground Miss Wilson makes really arresting suggestions which give us much food for careful thought.

Her method, as has now been quite clear, is to "collate the prosody of poetry with that of music." Now, the use of musical *symbols* for poetic scansion, on the strength of a conviction that music can "mirror the rhythms of poetry," is calculated to perplex those born to the older manner. Technicalities, some of which are necessarily hard, enter largely into this fascinating study which, we gladly note, is made appropriately elaborate in Ch. IV—that on "Rhythm in Particular"—which particularly commends itself to us. She has laid under contribution, not always however for accepting their views, quite a number of authoritative writers on prosody in general, on metre, rhythm (of verse and prose), on the science of verse, on poetry on its *formal* side, and not the least, on the latest type of psychology. To the last she administers towards the close of Ch. I, a very bold but not untimely admonition, verging on rebuke not too mild, which we appreciate.

On the whole this volume of 167 pages, though it makes hardreading, will amply repay the assiduous reader and we hope it will begin a new era in the study of a somewhat misunderstood but very interesting branch of the **art** of poetry and we strongly recommend the book to all lovers of "*fashioners*" of poetry like, say, the late Poet-laureate, Robert Bridges, who was also a close student of the subject of prosody on which he has left to us something important among his critical papers.

J. G. B.

Readings from Smiles (with Notes)—by Rai Rasamay Mitra, Bahadur, M.A., New Revised Edition, B. Banerjea and Co., Price Re. 1-8-0—is one of the text-books recommended for the Matriculation Examination by the Calcutta University. The topics selected show judgment and care; and a good deal of pains have evidently been taken to number the lines on each printed page. 296 pages of reading matter in bold and thick type have, however, to shoulder the heavy burden of 49 pages of Notes in very small print where we are edified by such precious bits as—"Speech—language," "becomes (a transitive verb)," "routine—a regular course of duty or action" and much besides!! One can now understand why students of to-day are in such a deplorable condition. The University should *at least* have peremptorily demanded complete wiping out of these Notes before considering it proper to recommend a book which, thus purged, would surely be welcome.

X.

A Study of the Mahāvastu by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., with a 'Note on the Mahāvastu' by Dr. A. Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt. Demy 8vo., 8¾″×5¼″, pp. x+180. 4 Plates. Price Rs. 8. Published by Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1930.

After the war in 1814-16 Nepal was forced to have a British Residency in its territory and Brian Hodgson was early appointed Residency Surgeon and he rose to be the Resident. He retired after the massacre of Kot in 1846. During these thirty years he employed his leisure in researches of all sorts both scientific and literary. Among his literary researches one of the most important was the collection of a large number of manuscripts which he distributed to the principal learned societies of the time. The Asiatic Society's share of these manuscripts was examined by Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra and the result of his labours is embodied in the Nepalese Buddhist Literature published in 1882. The Raja was then not in the best of his health and he asked me to help him. The help was given in this way. His paṇḍits prepared abstracts of these manuscripts in Sanskrit and I translated the abstracts of bigger manuscripts into English.

Of the manuscripts presented by Hodgson to the Asiatic Society of Bengal the biggest one was the Mahāvastu Avadāna which occupies in Rajendra Lala's Nep. Bud. Lit. pp. 116-160. At the end of this abstract Rajendra Lala makes a note that Senart is preparing an edition of this work. That edition appeared in 1888 and in that year Senart came to Calcutta. I invited him to my place at Naihati but at the last moment his wife fell ill and he had to leave Calcutta without going to my place.

When the edition appeared, it was found to be in a Sanskritic form of language the like of which is not to be found in any other work yet published. The language of the poetical pieces resembled that of the poetical pieces in Lalitavistara and also in Saddharmapuṇḍarika. But the prose of the Mahāvastu is also in a Sanskritic language but a bit different from that of the poetry. The language problem of the Mahāvastu is therefore a very important one and it should be carefully studied and analysed and a systematic grammar written about it. Much has been done in this direction by Oldenberg whose judgment and scholarship is admired by all scholars, European and Indian, but much yet remains to be done.

The poetical pieces are generally a bit more ancient and they are given in support of the prose narration immediately after them ; for instance, in the early part of the work Mahāvastu, there is a description of the hells in prose put into the mouth of Mahāmaudgalyāyana who had the supernatural power of roaming all over the world from the lowest hell to the highest heaven of the Suddhāvāsa devas. After the short description in prose there is similar description in poetry but put into the mouth of the Buddha himself and the latter is quoted as a voucher of the former. This is one of the fruitful sources of repetition complained of by Berriedale Keith in the note in the form of a foreword to Dr. B. C. Law's Study of the Mahāvastu. But should we take it as a repetition? If the poetry is not repeated no one would believe the statements in prose. If these are tedious repetitions, they are not only to be tolerated but also welcomed as an honest attempt to give the tradition of the work. There are other repetitions, too, but a scholarly spirit should seek to justify them and not scare away students by decrying them.

The name 'Mahāvastu,' means 'the great thing,' 'the great subject' and the great subject is treated from the beginning to the end in a systematic order. That order is indicated in the Nidāna or introductory summary. The three volumes of Senart are an expansion of this introductory summary, treating each 'head' in almost the same order with some deviations in certain places. The great thing is the Buddha's spirit which gradually developed in cycles after cycles of years beginning with Aparājitadvaja to the end of Buddha's ministry and the conversion of his disciples.

In the Vedic literature especially in the Yajurveda the mantras are sometimes separated from the Brāhmanas as in the white Yajurveda. But in the black Yajurveda they are so mixed up that some of the śākhās are likened to a vomit. The Mahāvastu when compared with other forms of

Buddhist literature appeared to be so mixed up as to resemble a vomit. It has jātakas, sūtras, vinaya narrations, udānas, all mixed up in one work while both in Sanskrit and in Pāli they are different subjects and treated of in different works. This mixed Mahāvastu is rather a hard subject for study and though Senart's edition appeared in 1888, few have ventured to study in original Sanskrit.

The services of Dr. Bimala Churn Law are indeed very great because out of that apparently disorderly work he has tried to evolve system and to encourage people to study it by showing that the study would be profitable. The repetitions were useful when Buddhism was a living force in India but in the 20th century they have no living interest and Dr. Law has done well to discard them all and give us the substance of the whole thing in plain and business-like language. He has attempted to divide his work into three sections—(1) Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, (2) Gautama Buddha, and (3) Stories. This is very good for modern readers who, I am sure, will thank him for evolving order out of what seemed to Keith to be an impenetrable disorder. The reader will now be able to see that the advent of Śākyamuni is not an accident. It is the outcome of self-exertion for many cycles of time—hundreds of thousands kalpas—a kalpa being 4,354,560,000 years. The entire story of this self-exertion is embodied in this work and therefore it richly and rightly deserves the name of the Mahāvastu. Our Śākyamuni who in the Theravāda is regarded as a human being cannot be so great a *vastu* as to merit the name of the Mahāvastu. It is the Mahāsāṅghikas who thought him so. I believe there is a fundamental misconception about the import of this work. The general idea is that it is the work of the Lokottaravādins or those who thought Buddha to be a superhuman and supernatural being, forming a branch of the Mahāsāṅghikas. Not one sect only of the Mahāsāṅghikas thought him to be lokottara or superhuman but all the Mahāsāṅghikas always thought him to be so. The construction of the sentence, "Āryamahāsāṅghikānāṁ lokottaravādināṁ madhyadeśikānāṁ pāṭhena vinayapiṭakasya mahāvastue ādi," does not justify us in thinking that Lokottaravādins are a branch of the Mahāsāṅghikas. It rather leads us to think that all the Mahāsāṅghikas were Lokottaravādins. There is a list of the 18 sects which arose shortly after the split in the 2nd century after Buddha in the Mahāvaṁsa but the Lokottaravādins do not appear there. The Kathāvatthu composed by monks assembled at the 3rd Buddhist Council at Pāṭaliputta in the 17th year of the reign of Aśoka contains the doctrines of all the various Buddhist sects which existed at that time but there is no mention of any sect known as the Lokottaravādins. So Lokottaravādinām is not the name of a sect but it is an adjective of the Mahāsāṅghikas. If this is true, the attempt of bringing the Mahāvastu down to the 3rd century A.D. falls to the ground. The book was written at a period when supporting prose narrations by ancient poetical pieces held its ground, *i.e.*, at a time when books like the Lalitavistara, the Saddharmapuṇḍarika, etc., were composed and the name of the Mahāsāṅghikas shows that it is at least earlier than these works, because these are pronounced Mahāyāna works while the Mahāvastu is not only not a Mahāyāna work but also a book of the Mahāsāṅghikas, and if we are to believe in Suzuki, the Mahāyāna developed from the Mahāsāṅghikas some centuries after their formation.

The Mahāvastu is a great work not only because it is the history of Buddha for several cycles of kalpas but also for the great ideas of creation, of the origin of government and of other topics of supreme importance in ancient India. In the matter of creation it commences with the Suddhāvāsa Devas who are self-illuminating, self-mobilised, light, whose only food is prīti or love and who do not require the help of the sun or the moon to exist in the world. This self-illuminating being roamed all over space and all over time at their own will without any let or hindrance. How in several kalpas they became human beings is a wonderful development and those who want to know the steps of development are recommended to read the section commencing with the Rājavaṁsa. The Rājavaṁsa had its origin not in any divine right but in a pure convention. The cultivators chose the strongest man, appointed him to protect their harvest and compensated him with a sixth of their produce. He is often called Gaṇa-dāsa or the servant of the people. The first king is called Mahāsammata or 'the Great Elected' ; this is a theory of state built upon a pure convention not to be found in any other Indian literature. The descriptions of cities, gardens, palaces, processions, etc., are not only vivid and life-like but true so far as ancient India is concerned. Some of the scenes are exceedingly beautiful. The scene of Rāhula's conversion is pathetic in the extreme. The poor boy asked his mother, in the presence of the Buddha, "Where is my father? Who is this monk in whom I am getting so much interested ? Is he a relation of ours ? Why is it that when I sit under his shadow I feel so comfortable ? " Suddhodana had given orders that no one should reveal the relation of Buddha to Rāhula on pain of death. The hesitation of Yasodharā to tell the truth is beautifully expressed; on the one side the son is pathetically appealing to her and on the other the order of her father-in-law is imperative; but she yields to the importunities of her son and the son at once goes to his father and asks for inheritance and that inheritance is given by handing over the little boy to Sāriputta, the chief disciple, for ordination. Dr. Law gives the story of this conversion and I am sure, readers will be greatly interested in it.

There is no doubt that the Mahāvastu is a great work and perhaps the most ancient Buddhist work of great bulk extant and it treats of a great subject, the superhuman being of a Buddha and we owe it to Dr. B. C. Law's indefatigable exertion of making Buddhist ideas available to modern readers that this great work, 'The Mahāvastu,' has been made accessible to the modern readers in a presentable shape. It is very convenient to read Dr. Law's 'A Study of the Mahāvastu'; as I have said before, by avoiding repetitions he has greatly facilitated the study of the ideas of the book and by separating the earlier migration of the Buddha spirit from the life of Gautama Buddha he has still more facilitated its study. By the separation of the Jātaka stories from the body of the book, he has made its study easy. It is a great want that he has supplied and future generations will be greatly benefited by his exertions.

HARAPRASĀD SHĀSTRĪ

Administration Reports of Bengal, Madras, and Bihar and Orissa Provinces for 1928-29. These recently published reports afford us an opportunity of reviewing the principal economic, political and social events in the three major Provinces of India.

Economic conditions.—It is pleasing to note that there has been economic progress in all the three provinces. The diminution of crime, the increase in the number of trading and banking companies, the slow progress of the co-operative credit societies, the progressive improvement of local and municipal administrative bodies, the increase of foreign trade at the port centres, the progress of agricultural research, the spread of industrial education, the diminished number of labour strikes, the improvement in the standard of the living of the depressed classes, the reaping of substantial closing balances, marked improvements in the public health of the people and the formation of more universities to develop the cultural aspect of education bespeaks the slow and steady progress of the masses towards better economic conditions. While Madras was certainly fortunate in this respect Bengal lags behind her in this direction. The prevalence of industrial disputes, the reappearance of communal strife at Khargpur, the breaches in the embankment of the River Padma, the late harvesting of crops in some of the districts, the continuance of unemployment amongst the landless middle-class people, the prevalence of malaria, cholera, and small-pox and the continued depression in the coal industry and the reduced prosperity of the tea industry tell their own tale of the unfavourable economic conditions in the province of Bengal. These ought naturally to have reflected themselves in a deficit budget but actually the year ended with a larger closing balance of about Rs. 31,25,000; improvement in actual revenue contributing only 4 lakhs towards this unexpected contingency.

More favourable conditions existed in Bihar than in the previous year. Though communal disturbances and labour strikes existed as in the sister province there was a general absence of serious tension on the part of the different sections of the people. The financial state continued as before, but economical budgetting saved the province from bankruptcy.

Political conditions.—" Bombay works, Bengal talks, and Madras hears " is often the opinion expressed by intelligent foreign observers of the political activities of the country. That there is a lot of truth in this cryptic remark goes without saying. The boycott agitation due to the advent of the Simon Commission, the spread of the youth movement, the dissensions between the rival political parties, and the creation of new Muslim parties form the chief events of political interest in all the three important provinces.

It is very pleasing to observe that the transferred departments are the chief spending departments and marked improvements are noticeable in the field of agriculture, forests, industries, co-operative and public health departments. If some graphs and useful statistical tables running over a decade are introduced in the Reports of the Madras and the Bengal Province these reports would undoubtedly be read with much interest.

Matters of fact are presented in a short summary manner and research students in economics would have to cautiously interpret these facts and the inhabitants of the different provinces would naturally find these facts very helpful as a check on hasty legislation or derive useful lessons from new experiments conducted in these different provinces. A painful and indeed taxing study of the reports would be of great value in the matter of comparison and contrast between the different provinces. Such an intelligent study would prove very useful to all future students of Indian economic progress.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU

The Co-operative Organisation in British India—By B. G. Bhatnagar, M.A, pp. 321. **Co-operative Credit in Jamui Subdivision**—By Sadashiva Prasad, B.A. (Hons.), pp. 64. **The Co-operative Movement in India**—By S. L. Raina B.A., M.R.A.S. (London), pp. 130.

Mr. Bhatnagar devotes himself to the exposition of the doctrine of the co-operative movement. The pure theory and philosophy of the subject, both in its particularist and universal aspects, have been outlined lucidly and clearly. While conceptual knowledge and theoretical exposition form the essential objects of the first writer the second author discusses the historical and realistic trend of the co-operative credit movement in the Jamui Subdivision of the Bihar Province. Both these types of approach are given up in the third book and the study of comparison and contrast is taken up.

A student entering upon a serious study of the co-operative movement cannot hope to neglect any of these books. To the average student and the lay reader the first book forms an introductory one and would enable them to have an intelligent grasp of the subject. From this he can pass on to the second and work through Sadasiva Prasad's monograph. This painstaking inquiry is an important study. Highly useful and very helpful conclusions are drawn as a result of his intensive study. The circumspection in the granting of loans, the eternal vigilance on the part of the Central Bank in supervising the primary village societies and the necessity of teaching the illiterate borrowers to use capital at the right time to the right amount in the right manner are clearly pointed out during the course of the investigation.

From this monograph he can pass on to Raina's study which is a critical and stimulating monograph presenting to the readers the salient illustrative features of the current of co-operative activity in some of the major provinces of India.

Though these books and monographs are a bit old they afford interesting reading to the student, the lay reader and the co-operative worker.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU

The Educational Theory of Comenius—By Shamsul Ghani Khan. Army Rotary Press, Delhi, 1928.

Ths book may be divided into four sections;—the first, dealing with the author's life ; the second, with that of Comenius ; the third, treating of his books; and the fourth or last, with a criticism of his work and influence. Comenius or rather Komensky, whose name no doubt will sound strange to most ears, was born towards the end of the 16th century in Moravia: thus his mother-language was Czech. He was at first called to the service of the church but his work as the superintendent of the church school gradually engrossed his attention and proved the more attractive metal. We find him engaged in peaceful, constructive work in spite of the jars of religious feuds which constituted so much danger to ordered society in those days. Among the writings of Comenius may be named the *Great Didactic*, written in a general way so as to appeal to all; *Janua* (texts for the study of languages—original and translation printed on parallel pages) ; *Orbis Pictis* (the first picture-book for schools which appreciated the importance of visualisation in school education); and *Scholæ Luduś* (a dramatised version of the *Janua*, written to utilise children's play-impulses). Much importance is attached to these. It may be remarked in passing that the teaching of language and also of subject-matter cannot both be kept up equally well in the same book but this was sought to be achieved by the Latin text-books in which 8,000 Latin words were arranged in 1,000 sentences grouped under 100 chapters. It was the aim of the *Great Didactic* to cover all the aspects of education and completely reorganize the educational system. Religion and science combined to keep on all narrowness from his scheme of education and the influence of a narrow religion is to be seen—for example, in his aversion to dancing which he described as a circle whose centre is the devil. A religious bias is to be seen, again, in his tendency to throw the gates of schools open to all—to make education democratic. Comenius favoured the idea of co-education, emphasised group-teaching over individual instructions and recommended the use of monitors. We have travelled a long way since, and the class is now only a unit of organisation, not of teaching.

Among other remarkable traits of the theory of Comenius may be mentioned his advocacy for the education of women and his support of the vernacular as the medium of instruction. The author has also incidentally and with skill traced the influence of Bacon on Comenius both in his Sense-Realism and his Pansophia—his name for a bold and ingenious conception of an authoritative, well-selected, well-arranged, comprehensive and unified statement of the knowledge of the universe in all its aspects, physical, social and spiritual, and the Schola Scholarum to be staffed by men who should "speed the light of wisdom throughout the human race with greater success than has hitherto been attained, and benefit humanity by new and useful inventions." In spite of limitations due to lack of funds aud co-operation, the ideal, it is refreshing to note, was kept steadily in view by the great educator.

We feel constrained to observe that too much space has been devoted to the account of the author himself—thirty pages out of a total of 267. Though this is in a perfect consonance with our own tradition, still to complain, in one breath, of want of space and to come forward with unnecessary details about the author's grandmother's brother and the couplet composed in his memory,—this is, to say the least, grotesque and a little terrifying.

We demur also to the application of the term "Utilitarianism" to the tone of the teachings of Comenius and think that this is stretching the point too far. The get-up of the book leaves much to be desired and the errors in printing and obvious omissions are positively disgusting. In spite of all these defects, the book is an honest attempt to understand and popularise the teachings of Comenius written in a style easy of comprehension and free from subtleties of expression, and we trust it will interest all who have made a historical study of the science of education.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Teaching English—By G. Y. Elton. Edited by J. Compton, Macmillan and Co., Limited, St. Martin's Street, London, 1929.

This rather unostentatious manual of precepts or principles which makes for real efficiency in teaching English deserves to be read with care and appreciation. The author, whose soul is writ large across the pages,—scintillating with sympathy and intelligence—the two substantial assets for any teacher worth his salt,—was a son of Prof. O. Elton, a distinguished historian and critic of English literature who needs no introduction. The short biographical notice by the father commemorating the son, a writer and teacher of much promise cut off from this world by one of theworld's unhappy accidents, will repay perusal as will also the prefatory note by Mr. Fowler. The language of the draft, designed to be a joint production, has been left as it stood originally at the time of the author's premature death admittedly informal, with "the sparkle of good table-talk" and will help to contribute to the enjoyment of a spicy repast. The book is evidently meant for teachers for whom there is a special recipe—the Epilogue—which should be thrown broadcast among our schools and colleges. It will be a source of profit mixed with pleasure, if used intelligently in our undergraduate classes and even higher. Some of the sentences and sentiments will bearr epetition ; *e.g.*, "In order not to flounder in the musky side of literature, you have only to remember that it's a practical subject, just like any other art, and deals entirely in essence with 'what one would do if one was some one else,' the most excellent and noble of all subjects, and 'how other people exist and do things.'" Again—"If you think literature is nothing but 'play-instinct' and people's efforts to amuse other people, the subject becomes jelly-like and unwieldy and there are no rules except the degree of amusement felt by every particular person at every particular moment. It becomes unteachable. If you think of it as a very direct and clear form of the doing-instinct—a way of doing things in the spirit that you haven't a chance of doing in the flesh, then it's plain sailing."

It is rather unusual to speak of a book as deserving the highest praise, but this book, it must be said, is worthy of such a commendation. Its spirited style and way of writing will bring joy and delight to all teachers, tired with the drudgery of the daily routine and perhaps a little impatient or wavering in their idealism; while the numerous suggestions, fresh and practical, *e.g.*, those on five minute essays, will prove—we feel confident—positively stimulating.

P. R. SEN

Ourselves

OUR RETIRING VICE-CHANCELLOR.

We sincerely congratulate our retiring Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Urquhart, on the well-deserved honour done to him by the University which at a Special Convocation held for the purpose on the 5th of August conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Law in grateful recognition of his valuable services to the University as its Vice-Chancellor. His Excellency, the Chancellor, made a suitable speech on the occasion appreciating Dr. Urquhart's good work and the Senate also at a special meeting had recorded its high appreciation of the same. Dr. Urquhart has a brilliant record of educational work in this country and will, we hope, continue it for many years more.

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OUR NEW VICE-CHANCELLOR.

In offering to our new Vice-Chancellor, Lt.-Col. Hassan Suhrawardy, O.B.E., M.D., D.P.H., F.R.C.S., Chief Medical Officer, E. B. Ry., who took charge of his high office, occupied now for the first time by a representative of the Moslem community of Bengal, from Dr. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.L., D.Litt., D.D., Principal, Scottish Churches College, on the 9th August, our hearty congratulations and warm welcome, we are glad to note that he is not new to us. For years he has been serving this University as a Fellow and a Syndic. He has thus an intimate knowledge of the affairs of the University which is being re-organised for the second time since the death of the great Sir Asutosh Mookerjee to whom the institution is immensely indebted for all that it stands for as a centre of culture and a seat of learning, professing to specially devote itself to the advancement of learning. We are sincerely glad that a long-standing grievance of our Moslem brethren is thus removed and fervently hope that on the whole our *Alma Mater* will be in the long run benefited by this change of policy. He is called upon, however, immediately on assuming charge to face a serious situation created by financial difficulties of an unusual character and will be required to act with exceptional caution and tact, if the teaching side of the University, which should count for more than the merely administrative, is to successfully tide over what looks like a crisis. It is reassuring to notice that in declaring his policy in an interview with the *Statesman* he has courageously and wisely observed that his will be "the policy of a man who does not belong to any party." If, indeed, he succeeds, as he admirably intends "to secure freedom from financial and other embarrassments" for what he is pleased to characterize as "a cockpit of political turmoil," he will have earned the highest praise when the time will come for him to hand his charge over to his successor. He will, under the circumstances, make whoever is honestly interested in the educational progress of Bengal and the Bengalis, vigilantly watch his career in this new and responsible sphere of his activities and sympathetically interpret all he says and does. He deserves from all connected in any way with the work of the University cordial support, and loyal co-operation freely extended in perfect fellowship to a person bent upon achieving salutary reforms. We hope he adequately realises the nature of the extremely difficult task he is imposing on himself in a spirit which speaks highly of him as a public man whose sole concern is to care more for measures than men or sectional interests. May he succeed in redeeming the pledge thus nobly given at the very outset!

We may mention that Dr. Suhrawardy belongs to a well-known and highly-cultured family of Bengal Moslems, many members of which have made their mark by dint of their merit and we wish that fresh laurels may be won by him by his successful conduct of our University affairs.

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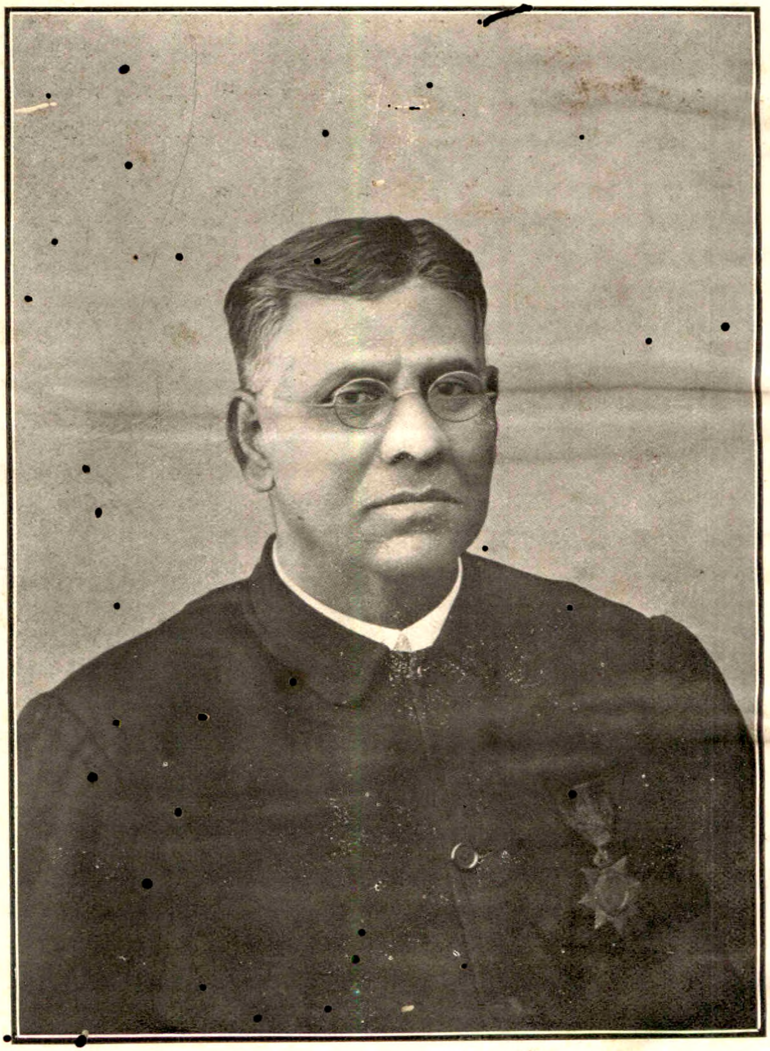

THE LATE RAI CHUNILAL BOSE BAHADUR,
C.I.E., I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S.

The Late Rai Bahadur Chunilal Bose.

We are sincerely sorry to have to record our deep sense of grief at the sudden death of Rai Bahadur Chunilal Bose, C.I.E., I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S, which melancholy event took place at his Ranchi residence on the 2nd of August last. It means a personal loss for us and for the University of Calcutta of which he was in a number of ways an eminent representative since the year 1898, when he was nominated a Fellow and attached to the Faculty of Medicine. When the election of Fellows under the Indian Universities Act of 1904 came into force, he became an Ordinary Fellow of the Faculty of Science and subsequently an important and active member of the Boards of Studies in Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, Physiology and Medicine. He served also as Chairman of the Students' Residence Committee and as an Examiner and Paper-Setter.

The Coates Memorial Prize for 1901 was awarded to him for his thesis on "Nerium Odorum."

In 1915 well-deserved distinction came to him in the shape of the title of Companion of the Imperial Service Order and he held the responsible office of the Sheriff of Calcutta in 1921 and was made, the next year, Companion of the Indian Empire. As Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer in Science for 1929 he prepared his lectures on "Food"—a subject to which he devoted his best energies—which unfortunately he could not deliver for ill-health.

He was specially noted for his zeal for public welfare and gave his valuable time to welfare work unstintedly but what we particularly admired in him was his inborn politeness and unfailing courtesy. He was truly a Nature's born gentleman of the old type which is to-day getting in this land to be a rare thing.

We offer to the bereaved family our sincere condolence and cordial sympathy.

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A NEW Ph.D.

Mr. Dhirendramohan Datta, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the Syndicate at its meeting of August 1, 1930, on his thesis entitled "The Six Ways of Knowing—a critical and comparative study of the Six Pramānas of Advaita Vedānta."

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